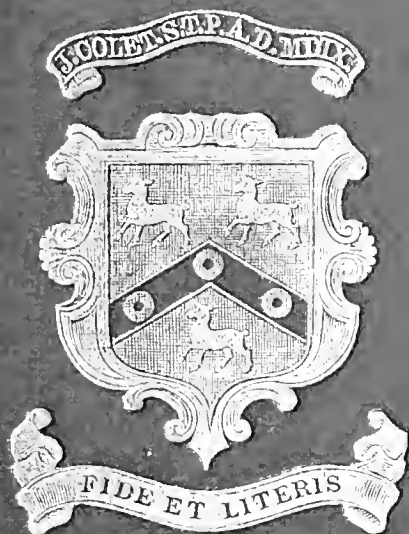
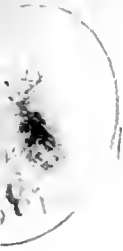


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* * *The above are out of print.*

THE LIVES OF JEHAN VITRIER, WARDEN OF THE

FRANCISCAN CONVENT AT ST. OMER, AND JOHN COLET, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON. Written in Latin, by Erasmus of Rotterdam, in a Letter to Justus Jonas. Translated, with Notes and Appendices. 1883. Price 4s. 6d.

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LIFE OF DEAN COLET.

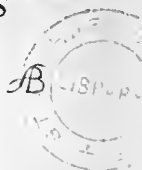
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IOANNES COLETVS
*Cum cohis Aomias ex cultu COLLET & sorores
 Te doctos inter posthuma fama refert.*

From the Engraving in Holstons "Her. & Eng." 1826.



JOHN COLLETT

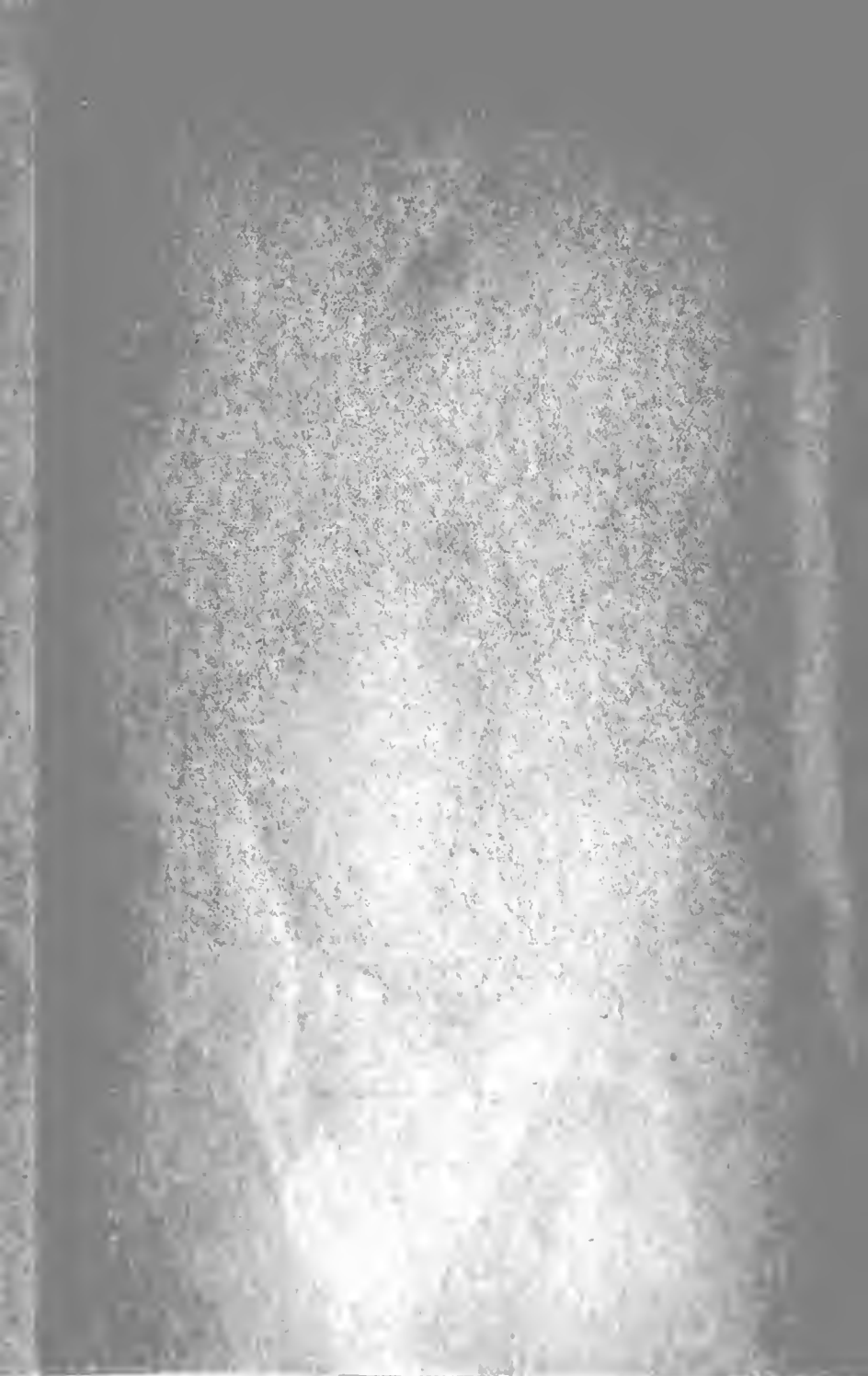
DEAN OF ST. MARY'S, BATH, 1880-1890

WITH A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY'S, BATH

BY THE REV. J. H. COLEMAN

ST. MARY'S, BATH, 1880-1890

GEORGE ALLEN



A LIFE
OF
JOHN COLET, D.D.,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, AND FOUNDER OF
ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF SOME OF HIS
ENGLISH WRITINGS.

BY

J. H. LUPTON, M.A.,

*Surmaster of St. Paul's School, and formerly Fellow of St. John's
College, Cambridge.*

LONDON:
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COVENT GARDEN.

1887.

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JUL 29 1957

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

JOHN WILLIAMS, D.D., BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT.

MY DEAR BISHOP,

In dedicating this Life of Colet, by permission, to yourself, I am linking together two names which have been before associated. No one in the United States appreciates the work of our Founder more highly than you do ; few have done more to make it known and honoured among your countrymen. When, in the summer of 1884, after an interval of forty years, you came on an important mission to London, it was one of your first cares to visit Dean Colet's school, then just housed afresh in its stately home in the western suburbs. As you stood before the ancient bust of the Founder, your visit might well have seemed to you something of a pilgrimage. Nearly four centuries had rolled away since Columbus first set foot on the island shore of San Salvador. Those centuries passed, the land whose outskirts were then discovered had become a mighty nation ; and one of its bishops was standing before the image of an English contemporary of Columbus, a pioneer, in the world of religion and letters, with a faith as strong and a vision as far-reaching as his.

In the presence of such memories as those raised by the names of Columbus and Colet, the petty differences of the hour, that may spring up between two great branches of one common stock, will fade into their proper insignificance. You have generously forbidden me to express, by the use of any formal titles, my sense of the honour due to the successor of

Bishop Seabury. But I may at least say how gratified I am at being allowed to send forth this imperfect work under your auspices, and at the opportunity thus afforded me of testifying to my regard for yourself, and also of adding one more link, however slight, to the bonds of good feeling and friendship between our two countries.

I remain, my dear Bishop,

With every sentiment of respect,

Yours most faithfully,

THE AUTHOR.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL,

WEST KENSINGTON, W.,

March 21st, 1887.

P R E F A C E.

THE Life of Dean Colet has been often written, and still more often attempted. His first biographer was his contemporary and friend Erasmus; and had the sketch left by him, in a letter to Justus Jonas, been fuller and more complete, it would have superseded the necessity for any other. But through the neglect of those who should have supplied the requisite details, Erasmus was not able to fill up his outline. During the next two centuries there appeared at intervals various short memoirs, taken almost entirely from that of Erasmus. These need not be specified here. At length, in 1724, there was published by subscription what has been regarded as the standard Life of Colet. The materials for it had been collected, with characteristic care and industry, by Dr. White Kennett, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough; and these were given to Dr. Samuel Knight, Prebendary of Ely, an old scholar of St. Paul's School, to arrange and complete.¹ This work was reprinted in 1823, with some additions and corrections, by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, aided by a liberal grant from the Mercers Company; but the editor's part was by no means carefully performed.

During the last twenty years much has been done to make Colet better known to us. Till then, his name was all but

¹ The volume containing Bishop Kennett's collections for the work is preserved in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS., vol. xcvi.), and from an inspection of it, and of Dr. Knight's letter of acknowledgment prefixed, a fair estimate may soon be made of the value of their respective shares in the task. The rough draft of Dr. Knight's "Life" is also in existence, being a small quarto marked "Add. 46(7)" among the Baumgartner Papers in the University Library of Cambridge.

unheard of in the annals of his country. He is not so much as once mentioned, I believe, in the histories of Hume and Lingard. *Now*, no history of England leaves him unnoticed ; and in what is perhaps the most popular of all, Green's "History of the English People," an importance altogether exceptional and unique is assigned to the part he played. The chief credit of this change is due to Mr. Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," which first showed Colet to us in the true greatness of his character. If the publication of his own writings during that period has contributed at all to the same result, I have good reason to be gratified. The weight now deservedly attached to the public acts and recorded opinions of such a man is due, not merely to the traits of a singularly lofty character they display, nor to a sense of gratitude for his eminent services in the cause of education, but also to the peculiarity of his position as Dean of St. Paul's from 1504 to 1519. In such an office, held at such a critical time, he formed a connecting link between the old and the new. He publicly preached against the worship of images, and was charged with heresy by his diocesan, though acquitted by his archbishop. He was the attached friend and spiritual adviser of Sir Thomas More, who seems now on the road to canonization ; and no less the friend of Erasmus, some of whose works have been placed on the Index. He sought to end his days with the Carthusians of Sheen, a community that had its martyrs along with Bishop Fisher, and yet he left not a penny to any monastic house, or to any chantry-priest to say masses for him after death. He died in the communion of the Church of England as it then was ; while yet, by his public expositions of Holy Scripture, and by his avowed opinions on the non-exaction of tithes, on community of goods, on the wealth and secular occupation of prelates, on the unlawfulness of war, the misuse of offerings at shrines, and other topics, he was suspected, and not altogether without reason, of sympathizing with the followers of Wicliffe.

On these grounds it is not likely that the writings of Dean Colet, now that they have once been made known, will be

suffered to relapse into obscurity. There is much in them, no doubt, of a Platonic or mystical character, remote from the practical concerns of life ; but there is much also that is instinct with latent energy, and in which we may trace the workings of an earlier movement than that of Luther, the first throes of a birth that had begun years before the passionate outbursts of Henry VIII.

But it is not for their controversial value alone, as helping to explain or to justify the great religious changes of the sixteenth century, that I would call attention to those writings, with which it is now for the first time possible fully to illustrate the Life of their author. How important they are for that purpose the copious extracts which follow may suffice to show. That, however, is not all. There is in some of them a beauty and a value above all controversies. I know not how anyone, for instance, can read the "Lytell prohome to the boke," which he prefixed to his School Grammar, without admiring alike the soundness of his judgment and the tenderness of his disposition. And thus I have thought it might prove a not altogether thankless task, to print in the Appendix both his School Statutes, and the Catechism with which this "Lytell prohome" is connected, and also his Convocation Sermon, and the "Order of a good Christian man's life." Some of these have been reprinted before, but not with that fidelity to the originals which they deserve, and which is here attempted.

It is some reward for time and labour spent on such a subject as this, that one feels oneself to have been in good company ; to have often listened, in spirit, to the talk of Colet and Erasmus, of Lily and More. It is some reward also, to have been brought into correspondence with others of kindred tastes, the stores of whose more abundant information are never grudgingly imparted. I have endeavoured, in the following pages, to profit by suggestions received at different times from the late Rev. J. H. Blunt, the late Mr. J. R. Green, and Mr. F. D. Matthew, the learned editor of Wicliffe. To Mr. Seebohm above all, as my acknowledgments have been often made before, so must they now be repeated once again. Our

fellow-work, if I may presume so to call it, began just twenty years ago, and seems likely to end together, with the publication of the third edition of his "Oxford Reformers" in the early months of this year. My obligations in more special cases—as to the "Registrum Statutorum" of Dr. Simpson, and to the "Admission Registers of St. Paul's School" of Mr. Gardiner—will be found recorded in their proper place. For the portrait of Colet prefixed to this work, a reproduction of the early engraving in Holland's "Heroölogia" (1620), the reader's thanks and mine are alike due to the publishers.

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ERRATA.

- P. 29, n. 1, and p. 36, n. 2, *for Broderick read Brodrick.*
 „ 67, l. 4, *for Battisto read Battista.*
 „ 175, n. 2, *for Innocent's read Innocents'.*
 „ 177, n. 2, *for at the end of Appendix A read in Appendix B.* /
 „ 179, n. 1, *for Appendix B read Appendix C.* ✓
 „ 223, top line, *for twenty read thirty.*
 „ 264, n. 2, *for 593 read 393.*

Thomas Collett=
1. sonne.

John Colet²=Katherine. William Colet=Katerine. John Richard,
citizen and mercer of London, ob. 1492. of Wendover, 20 Hen. VIII. and 19 others, who all died young.

Robert Colet. John Colet,⁴=Katherine Thomas Colet
citizen and mercer of London, 17-24 Hen. VIII. dau. of Thomas Whall.



Willyam Collett, the elder,
whoe dyed without issue.

Willyam,
Willyam,
Willyam,
all dead. Nathaniell Collett.

¹ The will of this John Colet, dated May 5, 1461, wasere seems certain. See Knight's "Life," p. 1 n.

² This John Colet is placed here on the authority of an⁴th, 1716. The testator describes himself as son of Thomas Colet, and was born, 5 marks to pray for his soul. Further bequests are "to mton to his father for life, then to his wife Katherine ; residue to his s

³ See the note above, p. 14.

⁴ The descendants of this John Colet and his wife Kath A brother William is there assigned to him.

⁵ Placed here conjecturally, being described as "son of

LIFE OF DEAN COLET.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

The Hale, Wendover.—Henry Colet.—State of England in 1450.—The City of London.—Sir Henry Colet Lord Mayor.—Dame Christian.

A PLEASANT English homestead is that of the Hale, near Wendover, Bucks, the birthplace of Dean Colet's father, Sir Henry Colet. The traveller who would visit it, starting from Aylesbury, as the writer did one day at the end of August, 1883, finds himself in a rich and fertile country. Far away behind him stretches the Vale of Aylesbury, with its cornfields and pastures, and the road he journeys by has broad fringes of grass, as if the luxuriance of nature could hardly be kept under by the footsteps of man. In front of him, to the right and left, are the long lines of the Chiltern Hills. At their foot on the west side, just where the slopes cease to be wooded, stands the little town of Wendover, which once returned two members to Parliament, and has numbered John Hampden among its representatives. The road to the Hale runs through it, past the old grey church of St. Mary, and so onwards over a spur of the Chilterns. From the heath-clad summit of the hills a glorious expanse greets the eye; and nestling in a sheltered corner, at the foot of the south-eastern slope, just beyond a field all aglow with yellow charlock, the old manor-house of the Hale is seen. The path to it is a narrow lane, winding between high banks interlaced with roots of trees.

The house itself is a plain, roomy structure, only two storeys high, but broad, and flanked to the left by outbuildings. Three tall Scotch firs, with the lower branches lopped off, so as not to obstruct the view, keep guard like sentinels in front. The present building, to judge from the date on a water-pipe, was erected in 1748. The old house which it replaced is said to have stood a little more to the right, under Green Hill, in what is now known as the Nut Warren. A few fragments of the older masonry still remain. Whether these go back to the time of Sir Henry Colet, or not, the writer is unable to say. When seen in 1883, the house had a neglected look about it. Three years before, the property had been bought of its previous owner, Mr. Robert Stratfold Collet, by a neighbouring landowner, Alfred de Rothschild, Esq., and a caretaker of his was then in occupation, pending the arrival of a new tenant.¹ But even in this transition state there were many things to show how enjoyable such an English country home might once have been. The spacious "house-place," with its floor of red brick, opening into a kitchen, where a wide chimney, unconfined by any range, spanned a fire of pine logs, burning sleepily in the August afternoon, seemed to recall visions of warmth and hospitality in bygone days. Many a bluff farmer, coming in well-satisfied from the neighbouring market, many a tired shepherd, after a long day on the breezy uplands, had had his story or his laugh under the old rafters.

Changed as the Hale undoubtedly is, with its George II. date upon the front, there are features in the scenery around

¹ The direct descendants, in the male line, of the Colets of Wendover came to an end in 1750 with Robert Collet—as the name was then spelt. His nephew, Robert Stratfold, succeeded to the estate, and assumed the name of Collet. The grandson of this Robert Stratfold Collet—Thomas Stratfold Collet—dying in 1857, left the property (then 380 acres) to Robert Stratfold Collet, the son of his youngest brother Henry; and from him, as stated above, it finally passed into other hands in 1880.

For information on these matters the writer's best thanks are due to Miss Marian Collet, of Rickmansworth. See also Sheahan's "Buckinghamshire," vol. i., p. 208. A good photograph of the Hale is published by Mr. Payne, of Aylesbury.

which we may believe its ancient owners would still have recognized. The Chiltern Hills are there, as of old. The steep pathway up the slope behind the Hale, leading to Tring, with its wild strawberries and bowers of hazel, and the splendid vistas between the pine woods and beeches towards the summit, are probably but little altered since the day when Henry Colet roamed over them as a child, gathering health and vigour for the busy life that lay before him.

It is not easy to trace the earlier links of the pedigree of the Colet family. Henry, the future Lord Mayor, appears to have been the third son of Robert Colet, of Wendover, having two elder brothers, Thomas and William, or Thomas and John, and a younger brother, James. Several of the name, and probably of the same family, are mentioned about this period as engaged in commerce. In Blythborough Church, Suffolk, was a monument to a William Colet, merchant of that place, who died in January, 1503-4.¹ A John Colet, citizen and mercer of London, is also met with, whose will was proved October 27th, 1461. Without delaying further over details of genealogy, it will thus be seen that it was natural for young Henry Colet to be sent to London when the time came, and begin life as a mercer's apprentice. The fact of his having relations engaged in that calling would make the way easier for him.

As the year of Sir Henry Colet's birth can be only approximately fixed, the exact time at which he left Wendover for London must be also a matter of conjecture. The date of his death is approximately given by the probate of his will, October 20th, 1505, and by the election of an alderman to succeed him in the ward of Cornhill, after his decease, on November 6th, 1505.² It is thus pretty certain that he died in the fall of

¹ Weever's "Funeral Monuments," p. 761. A list of some of these early Colets is given below in the note following Appendix D.

² "The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael, Cornhill," edited by W. H. Overall (p. 218), a work containing much valuable information relating to the City. In Weever's "Funeral Monuments," 1631, p. 540, the date upon his monument in Stepney Church is

1505. Moreover, as he was elected an alderman, for the ward of Farringdon Without, in 1476, when he may be presumed to have reached middle life, it is probable that he died at a good age, even if he had not completed his threescore years and ten. We can hardly be far wrong, therefore, in fixing his birth between 1435 and 1440. It would thus probably be between 1450 and 1455 that young Henry Colet went up to London to learn the art and mystery of a mercer.

It is not easy to over-estimate the greatness of the changes that were going on alike in England and in the civilized world at large during the years through which the city life of Henry Colet extended. He, still more truly than his distinguished son, may be said to have seen the end of the old and the beginning of the new. The son was a young man, probably still at Oxford, when the Middle Ages came to a close at Bosworth Field. The first mayoralty of the father was in the very year after that battle; and his crowning distinction as a citizen thus coincided with the establishment of the Tudor dynasty. The two lives together overlap a period of history as pregnant with results as almost any that this country has passed through. Just about the time when Henry Colet arrived in London came the news of the fall of Constantinople—a loss which proved in one sense the greatest gain, for it opened the reservoirs of knowledge, and let the streams of Greek learning flow over and fertilize the West. Only two years before his son breathed his last, Luther had nailed his theses to the church door at Wittenberg, and the struggle of the Reformation had begun. While the father was an alderman and the son a boy at school, Caxton brought the first printing-press into England. Both witnessed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the first doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, and the momentous discoveries of the Cabots and of Columbus. The world was enlarged, in their time, by the addition of America and of the Indies, East and West. At home they both saw the end of the long and desolating

given as 1510, but this, if correctly copied, must have been an error, for the reasons given in the text.

Wars of the Roses and the establishment of the New Monarchy.

But it is needless to recall further the great events which were taking place in the world around, to show how stirring was the age in which the lot of the elder Colet was cast. Enough has been said to show that, however dreary and depressing may have been the state of things at home, there was still a freshness and a grandeur in the changes abroad, such as could hardly fail to stimulate the mind of one in his position, to enlarge his views, and make him feel the dignity of being "a citizen of no mean city." Certainly, to a thoughtful Englishman, a Londoner especially, engaged in the peaceful pursuits of commerce, the state of things around him must then have seemed discouraging enough. The recent loss of Normandy and Guienne had reduced the English possessions in France to the solitary town of Calais. The Kentish men, those most nearly affected by the altered relations with France, had risen in insurrection; and, after the defeat of the king's forces at Sevenoaks, London had been held by a body of insurgents 20,000 strong. "And from that tyme (the iiij day of Juylle, 1450) unto the morowe viij of belle," writes the old chronicler,¹ "they were ever fyghtynge uppon London Brygge, ande many a man was slayne and caste in Temys, harnys, body, and alle; and monge the presse was slayne Mathewe Goughe and John Sutton aldyrman. And the same nyght, a-non after mydnyght, the Captayne of Kentte dyde fyre the draught brygge of London; and before that tyme he breke bothe Kyngys Bynche ande the Marchelsy, and lete owte alle the presoners that were yn them."

The Wars of the Roses were dragging on their seemingly aimless, hopeless course, with battles which drenched the soil of England with the blood of its bravest nobles and its stoutest

¹ "The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century" ("William Gregory's Chronicle"), edited for the Camden Society by James Gairdner, 1876, p. 193. From this interesting contemporary record several of the particulars which follow have been derived. Gregory was Lord Mayor in 1451-2.

yeomen. As each party in the strife prevailed in turn, the heads of opposing chieftains were struck off and sent to adorn the battlements of some country fortress, or the parapet of London Bridge. So plentiful was the grisly crop to be seen on one occasion at the latter spot that, as the chronicler remarks, "men called hyt in Kente the harvyste of hedys." The stubborn contests of Wakefield and Towton would appear only crowning examples of the general savagery of manners. A craftsman and his apprentice fall out, and the quarrel is settled by a fight within the lists at Smithfield. The master is slain by his man, "and dyspoylyde owte of hys harnys, and lay styлле in the fylde alle that day and that nyght next folowyng. And thenne aftyward, by the kyngys commaundement, he was drawyn, hanggyde, and beheddyde, and hys hedde sette on London Brygge, and the body hynggyng above erthe besyde the towre."¹ A woman at Westminster kills her husband, and is "brentt at Toure-hylle." On the same spot, in 1467, a heretic is burned for having "dyspyssed the sacrament of the auter: hys name was Wylliam Balowe, and he dwellyd at Walden." A grocer in Cheapside, living at the sign of the Crown, says jocularly that "he will make his son heir to the Crown" (meaning his own property); and for this simple jest, uttered when men were making merry at Edward IV.'s accession, the unhappy punster must lose his head.²

And yet, though the affairs of the realm seemed so unpromising—though the old nobility were having their ranks thinned by war and proscription, till there were none left to stand between the power of the throne and the common people—though the change of sovereigns was only from one who was a puppet in the hands of those about him to one who would have all others to be puppets in his hands—yet still

¹ "Gregory's Chronicle," p. 187. At p. 202 is a most ghastly story of an encounter between a "fals peler" (informer) and a "true man," near Winchester, carried on with all the formalities of a tournament, but of such a nature that the reader would sicken at the details.

² Harrison, "History of London" (1786), p. 117, after Stow.

there was a steady upgrowth all the time of what was to prove an enduring benefit to the nation. If Edward IV. was as arbitrary as his predecessor was imbecile, so that, as Hallam says, "his reign is the first during which no statute was passed for the redress of grievances, or the maintenance of the subject's liberty," he had yet discernment enough to foster the growth of trade and commerce, and to encourage the enterprise of London citizens. He increased the privileges of the Mayor and Corporation. Of the City Guilds no fewer than seven received their charter of incorporation in his reign, and among them some of the most important in the number. The Mercers had been incorporated as far back as 1393, but the Merchant Taylors date their corporate existence from 1466, and the Clothworkers from 1480. In the short reign of Richard III. we see alike the importance attached to the support of the citizens of London and the anxiety of the king to secure it by enactments favourable to their commerce. A little incident preserved by the chronicler already mentioned will show as well as anything what the popular conception was of the dignity attaching to the office of first magistrate of the City of London, and will illustrate the nature of the position which Sir Henry Colet had to fill.

About Midsummer, 1464, a banquet had been prepared at Ely House, Holborn, on the occasion of making some new serjeants-at-law. To this the Lord Mayor had been invited, as well as some of the nobility. "And at denyr tyme he come to the feste with his offecers, agreing and acordyng unto hys degre. For with yn London he ys next unto the kyng in alle maner thyng. And in tyme of waschyng the Erle of Worseter was take before the mayre and sette downe in the myddys of the hy tabylle. And the mayre seyng that hys place was occupyd hylde hym contente, and went home agayne with owt mete or drynke or any thonke, but rewarde hym he dyd as hys dygnyte requyred of the cytte." And the story goes on to say how the offended mayor and his brother aldermen withdrew to their own hall, and there, without any special trouble or preparation, were "sette and servyd also

sone as any man couthe devyse, bothe of sygnet and of other delycatys inowe ;" so that when officers had come from the givers of the feast, now sensible of their mistake, bringing dishes from the Holborn table as a peace-offering, their leader was ashamed to deliver his message, "for the present was not better thenn the servyse of metys was by fore the mayre and thoroughe owte the hyghe tabylle." But the Lord Mayor received the messenger with dignified courtesy, so that "he hadde love and thonke for hys massage, and a grette rewarde with alle." "And thus," ends the chronicler, with honest pride, "the worschippe of the cytte was kepte, and not loste for hym. And I truste that nevyr hyt schalle, by the grace of God."¹

It does not lessen the significance of this little passage of arms, to observe that the Earl of Worcester, who was desired to take precedence of the Lord Mayor, was no other than John Tiptoft, certainly one of the most remarkable men of his day, one who united a character of ruthless severity on the battlefield with an intellectual grace that extorted the admiration of Æneas Sylvius himself.² But while such outward marks of deference as this might easily be claimed by the heads of the Corporation of London at a time when we find Lord Mayors to have been Privy Councillors—as was the case with Geoffrey Fielding in 1452—it is of more importance to observe that the citizens of London were then, as they long continued to be, foremost in promoting the spread of education. It was from four of the clergy within the City walls that a petition to parliament first came, in 1447, setting forth the "lack of grammar schools and good teachers in the City of London, and praying leave, which was granted them, to establish schools, and appoint competent masters, in their respective parishes of Allhallows the Great, St. Andrew Holborn, St. Peter Cornhill, and St. Mary Colechurch."³ Nor

¹ "Gregory's Chronicle," as above, p. 222.

² It will be noticed in what high terms Green speaks of Tiptoft's ability ("Short History," p. 292).

³ Brewer, "Life of Carpenter," 1856, p. 62.

were the citizens of London content with securing these advantages of education for themselves. They took a leading part in disseminating them over the country. At a time like the present, when so much critical scrutiny is being brought to bear upon the Guilds and the Corporation of this ancient city, it is an act of justice to point to the good deeds in which they once at any rate were so rich. Men who have derived their education from one or other of the many grammar schools scattered over the country may yet be not prepared to learn that no fewer than nearly a hundred of these owe their foundation to the liberality of citizens of London—a fact, adds the writer from whom I borrow this statement, “which probably has no parallel in any other class of men.”¹

Such was the community into which Henry Colet was admitted in the opening years of manhood, and over which he lived to preside. And if it was an honour to become a citizen of such a city, that honour was at least not diminished by his being made a freeman of the Mercers' Company. Not to mention the splendid services which that ancient guild have been enabled, through Colet's own bequest, to render to the cause of education, it should not, now at least, be forgotten, that it was a Mercer who brought the art of printing into this country, and that the great system of life insurance, which has spread to such vast proportions, was first established by that same fraternity.²

What the steps were by which Henry Colet rose to the eminence he finally occupied, or how he prospered in business, can be inferred only from a few scattered notices which have been preserved. In 1476, we find him elected alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without, and sheriff the following year. As the Lord Mayor of that year, Humfrey Heyford, is mentioned³ as being a “sykley man, ffeble and weke, wher-

¹ Brewer, as above, Introduction, p. xi.

² See, for an account of Dr. William Assheton, and the adoption of his scheme by the Mercers' Company, Jeaffreson's “Book about the Clergy,” 1870, vol. i., p. 307, *sqq.*, and “The Assurer's Handbook” (published by Effingham Wilson), 1879, p. 42, *sqq.*

³ In a MS. “Chronicle of London,” from 1215 to 1509, Cotton MSS.,

fore he had not his mynde so fresshely," &c., it is probable that more than the usual burden of office would devolve on Colet and his fellow-sheriff, John Stokker. In 1483, he was elected alderman of Castle Baynard ward, in the room of William Stokker; afterwards removed by prerogative to Cornhill ward; and on October 13th, 1486, the feast of the Translation of Edward the Confessor, he was raised to the mayoralty. His sheriffs were John Percyvall and Hugh Clopton.¹ In 1495, under date July 20th, the record is found that Sir Henry Colet, "who once honourably served the office of mayor, should not be charged again against his will;" but nevertheless we find him mayor once more in that year, with Thomas Knesworth and Henry Somer for sheriffs.²

The years of Sir Henry Colet's mayoralties—1486 and 1495—were both eventful ones, especially the former. In January of that year there had been celebrated the marriage between Henry VII. and the Princess Elizabeth, which was looked on as a pledge of the union of the houses of York and Lancaster. On the 20th of September, shortly before the election to the mayoralty, this union had been prospered by the birth of a son, whose name, Arthur, was prudently meant to recall the ancient glories of the British race. From the Latin court-verses of the time,³ we can see how men's thoughts ran on the hoped-for return of a golden age, when "Arthur would come

Vitell. A. 16, leaf 135. See also a similar "Chronicle," from 1089 to 1483, edited by E. Tyrrell, Lond., 1847, p. 146.

¹ Sir Henry Colet's signature is found on an indenture preserved in the British Museum ("Add. Ch. 19540"), acknowledging, as Lord Mayor, the receipt of certain standard brass weights and measures, to be kept in the City, from Sir Robert Sutton, Under-Treasurer of England. It is dated June 27th, in the second year of Henry VII.

² The dates here given are taken from the "Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael," before referred to, p. 218, n.

³ See Mr. Gairdner's Introduction to the "Historia regis Henrici Septimi" of Bernard Andreas of Toulouse (1858), p. lx., where some such are quoted, *e.g.* :—

"Quicunque Arturum vates prædixerat olim
Venturum reducein, maximus ille fuit," &c.

again." It needs no imagination to picture to ourselves the festivities of which the Guildhall would be the scene on such an occasion. Moreover, the years 1486-7 and 1495-6 were both marked by the suppression of strange pretenders to the throne. On June 18th, 1487, the adherents of Lambert Simnel were defeated at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, and the upstart himself captured; and in October, 1496, Perkin Warbeck landed at Deal, with the support of the King of Scotland, but his forces were dispersed.

Under such circumstances, it is only natural to find that Henry seems to have been careful to encourage and promote his own faithful friends and followers, as well as to depress his opponents. The Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. William Worseley, was an abettor of Warbeck, and was brought to trial for sedition before the Lord Mayor's court.¹ Respect for the privileges of the Church appears to have saved him; but we are not surprised to find that, on the occurrence of the next vacancy but one in the deanery, when the son of Sir Henry Colet was old enough for such promotion, he should be thought of, even apart from his own eminent merits. The Duke of Buckingham, a connection by marriage of Dame Christian Colet, had lost his life in a premature rising in favour of Henry Tudor, while Richard III. was still king. Both from his official position, and from his personal attachment to the Tudor dynasty, Sir Henry Colet would be one to honour. And so it would appear, from various scattered traces, that benefits were showered upon him and his family. "Corrodies," or sustentations at the charge of religious houses, and other favours, are mentioned on several occasions about this period as bestowed on persons of the name of Colet.² But if

¹ Bacon, "History of King Henry VII." ("Works," 1730, vol. iii., p. 456); Wharton, "De Decanis," p. 231.

² See the "Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII." (Rolls Office Series), vol. i., p. 457: "Grant to Robert Colet of two corrodies, the one within the monastery of St. Benet, the other within the monastery of St. Oswald, co. Lincoln," August 22, 1486. A John Colet receives, between March and November, 1487, no fewer than four such corrodies; two at Abingdon Monastery, and one each at Bardeney, Lincoln, and St. Benet

Colet or his family received such marks of approbation from the king, he was neither unable nor unwilling to show himself a good friend in return. Owing to the support which Perkin Warbeck received from Flanders, commercial intercourse between that country and our own had been prohibited, and the trade of the merchants on both sides had in consequence begun to suffer. The inconvenience came to be so strongly felt, that negotiations were set on foot between Henry and the Archduke with a view to the restoration of commerce between the two countries. The result was, that in February, 1495-6, was concluded the treaty which the Flemings called the *interkursus magnus*.¹ To this convention the common seal of the Corporation of London was required to be affixed, but for some reason that body could not be persuaded to give their consent. At this juncture, Sir Henry Colet came to the king's assistance; and his single bond, as Lord Mayor, was accepted in lieu of the guarantee of the Corporation.² It is not every Lord Mayor who would thus become a surety for his sovereign's performance of his contract, "under plegge and bonde of all my goodes present and to come."

While thus acting the part of a public-spirited citizen, Sir Henry seems to have been a liberal promoter of Church work also. In the "Accounts of St. Michael," before referred to, there is mention made (p. 218) of a will made by him "touching the gyfte of the voyd piece of grounde in the Churchyard to the Parson, Churchwardeyns and Parisheoners of the parishe aforesaid." And he was one of the "principal people" to whom letters were sent in 1505, shortly before his death, for contributions towards the rebuilding of St. Mary's, Cam-

in Holme (*ib.*, vol. ii., pp. 128, 156). On July 20, 1486, a "John Colet, clerk," receives a grant for life, "in consideration of his good and virtuous disposition, of the free chapel of St. Margaret the Virgin, in Hilberworth, Norwich Dioc., void, and in the gift of the crown" (*ib.*, i., p. 513). That this last was the subject of this memoir is clear from the list of his ecclesiastical preferments.

¹ Bacon's "Hist. of Henry VII.," as before, p. 469.

² The document is printed by Knight from the Cotton MSS. (Vitellius, A. 16).

bridge.¹ He was, at the same time, strict in the execution of justice. On the 25th of March, 1495-6, in the course of his second year of office, it is recorded that there "stood upon the pyllery in Cornhyll a cowper named John Camelyn, for bruyng of wynes, and for chaungyng of wyne greke into Candy butts, wherthruh wyne Grekes wer sold for malveseys."²

But we must not delay too long on these incidents of the official life of Sir Henry Colet, interesting as they may be for an illustration of the manners of the time. An event that concerns our purpose more nearly, and which has been already alluded to by anticipation, was his marriage, about 1465, with Mistress Christian Knyvet, or Knevet, of Ashwellthorp, in Norfolk. This family was considered to be of Danish extraction, but Camden and Leland derive the name from Dunevit, or Dunnevit, a town in Cornwall on the Tamar.³ Sir John Knevet, of Ashwellthorp, had married Elizabeth, sister and heiress of Sir John Clifton, Knt., of New Buckenham, in Norfolk. His only son and heir, Sir John Knevet, married, first, Alice, daughter of Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, and, secondly, Joan, daughter of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. His daughter Christian became the wife of Henry Colet, and after her husband's knighthood was known as the good Dame Christian. The match must have been a most advantageous one for young Colet. Her family on both sides was highly connected. Her brother was son-in-law to the Duke of Buckingham. Her father was sheriff for Norfolk and Suffolk, and had acquired by his marriage with the Clif-

¹ See Cole's MSS., vol. ix., leaf 58, under "St. Mary Major in Cambridge."

² Cotton MSS. (Vitellius, A. 16), above quoted, leaf 158. Cretan wines, under the names of malmesey and muscadine, were largely imported into this country at the period referred to. Immoderate indulgence in these "luscious Greek wines" is assigned as one of the causes which made the sweating sickness so fatal in this country. See Hecker, "Epidemics of the Middle Ages" (tr. by Babington), p. 187, n.

³ Burke, "Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies" (1844), p. 293. The pedigree given by Burke on the next page may be corrected in some particulars from Blomefield's "Hist. of Norfolk" (1739), vol. i., p. 294, from which most of the statements in the text are taken.

ton heiress a fine property, including Buckenham Castle. Her kinsfolk and connections would no doubt be friends of influence for her husband in the civic offices that were in store for him.

But of much more consequence than this were the qualities of head and heart which Dame Christian possessed. She is called by Erasmus "*insigni probitate mulier*," and between her and the lively Dutch scholar there seems to have been a feeling of mutual regard. In a letter written in 1512, her son speaks of her as in grief for the death of a servant of his, "who died at her house, whom she loved as a son, and for whose death she wept as though he had been more than a son."¹ A still later letter, written to Erasmus in 1516, is dated from Stepney, at the house of his mother, "who still lives in a charming old age, often making cheerful and pleasant mention" of his correspondent. It has often seemed to the writer, now that the benefits of Dean Colet's foundation are to be applied, in part, to the education of girls, that some lasting memorial should be raised, in connection with that application, to perpetuate the name of the good Dame Christian.

In one respect, and in one only, as it would appear, the marriage was not a prosperous one. Out of an unusually large family, only one, the eldest child, survived to grow up to maturity. John, the first-born of eleven sons and as many daughters, was the only one who grew up to manhood; and his venerable mother survived even him. What was the cause of this mortality we are not told.² In any case, the sight of it may have helped to give a yet austerer cast to the naturally serious disposition of the future Dean; and, in particular, to foster in his mind the strong preference he often expresses for a celibate life.

¹ Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," p. 251.

² One child, Thomas, was buried in New Buckenham Church: "*Hic jacet Thomas filius Henrici Collet, civis et aldermanni Civitatis London., qui obiit die Nativitatis Sce Marce [sic] 1479.*"—Blomefield's "Norfolk," *ubi sup.*, p. 271.

CHAPTER II.

AT SCHOOL.

St. Anthony's Hospital.—St. Thomas of Acons.—Defective state of education four centuries ago.—Schoolbooks in use.—Latin Grammars.

IT is a matter for regret that much uncertainty hangs over what should be an interesting chapter in the life of Colet, his education at school and at the university. Strange as it may seem, it cannot be definitely ascertained where he, to whom school-teaching owes so much, was himself a learner. It is commonly supposed that he went to the school of St. Anthony's Hospital, Threadneedle Street;¹ and, after that, to Magdalen College, Oxford. But both statements rest on little more than conjecture. St. Anthony's, from its reputation, and the school attached to St. Thomas of Acons,² from its connection with the Mercers' Company, would be likely to attract one in the position of Mr. Alderman Colet, when thinking of sending his boy to school; but that is all that can be said.

Before giving a short account of each of these, it is worth while trying to realize the scantiness of the means of education within reach of Londoners about the middle of the

¹ See Dr. Bliss's note to the article on Colet in Wood's "Athenæ." The statement in Knight ("Life," p. 8), that we have no reason to doubt that he was educated "in that school which bare the name of his parish," is ambiguous. The parish of St. Anthony, or St. Antholin, Budge Row, in which Sir Henry Colet lived, had nothing to do with the Hospital above referred to, in Threadneedle Street.

² Carlisle, in his "Endowed Grammar Schools," ii., p. 48, places Dean Colet at the head of the list of eminent scholars, who, to use his words, "seem most certainly to have been educated in this school." But this, like the other, is only a matter of conjecture.

fifteenth century. This cannot be done without some effort. We must, of course, sweep away from our mental view the great schools of modern London. St. Paul's must go, as not founded till 1509; so must Westminster (in its present form), as not founded till 1560; so must Merchant Taylors, which sprang up the year after, and the Charterhouse, which followed half a century later. The City of London School, which many might think the most recent of all, had a germ or nucleus even then existing. This was the bequest of John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London in the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI., for the "finding and bringing up of four poor men's children with meat, drink, apparel, learning at the schools in the universities, &c., until they be preferred, and then others in their places for ever."¹ But this slender beginning was but as a runlet to the future river. All these, then, must go. Instead of them, it cannot be denied, there were certain schools which we must try to recall to mind. Every cathedral, and, as a rule, every large monastery, had its school. Three, in particular, we read of as flourishing in London as far back as the reign of Stephen—the cathedral school of St. Paul, the abbey school of St. Peter, Westminster, and a third, which is conjectured to have been at St. Peter's, Cornhill.² But, from whatever causes, schools appear to have become few and ill-supported by the middle of the fifteenth century, and not in London only, but in other parts of England as well.³ And so, as was briefly stated before, we find that in 1447 a petition was presented to parliament by four of the London clergy, setting forth the scarcity of good schools and teachers in London, and praying for leave to

¹ Brewer's "Life of Carpenter" (2nd ed.), p. 72. From so small a beginning was developed, in 1835, the present noble institution, in which the writer had the honour of being an assistant-master, 1859-1864.

² Carlisle, as before, p. 42.

³ See the petition of William Byngham, Rector of St. John Zachary, to Henry VI., in 1439, in favour of a sort of training-school he had established at Cambridge, whence scholars might be sent in turn "to those places where grammar schools had fallen into a state of desolation."—Brewer, as before, p. 67.

establish such in their respective parishes. These were—All-hallows the Great, St. Andrew Holborn, and St. Mary Colechurch. The gist of their complaint appears to have been, that the teachers were too few to do justice to the number of scholars seeking instruction. "For wher," say they, "there is grete nombre of lerners and few techers, and al the lerners be compelled to go to the few techers, and to noon others, the maisters waxen riche of monie, and the lerners pouerer in connyng, as experyence openlie shewith, agenst all vertue and ordre of well publik."¹ Their petition was granted; and though no relic remains at this day of three out of the four, the fourth, the one established in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, still flourishes, at a little distance from its original site, as the Mercers' School.

We can now understand how this last-mentioned school should have been likely to divide with St. Anthony's the choice of one in Henry Colet's position. It was not, indeed, till after the grant made by Henry VIII. in 1542, by which the collegiate property of St. Thomas of Acons passed into the possession of the Mercers' Company,² that the school attached to it came to be known by their name. But there had been a connection between the two from an early period. When the sister of Thomas à Becket, Agnes, the wife of FitzTheobald de Heli, had, conjointly with her husband, founded the hospital and chapel that were to keep her brother's name in memory, the fraternity of the Mercers were appointed as patrons. Their hall and chapel closely adjoined the hospital.³ Gilbert à Becket himself had been a mercer, and his house is said to have stood near the Cheapside entrance of the modern hall. The very name of Acons, a corruption of Acre, bore witness to the tradition that from that city had come his Saracen

¹ Quoted by Brewer from "*Rotuli Parliamentorum*," vol. v., p. 137.

² Herbert, "*History of the Livery Companies*," i., p. 263. The grant was in consideration of a sum of £969 17s. 6d.

³ The great fire of 1666 destroyed these buildings, which, had they still existed, would have been among the most interesting in London. The present chapel is partly on the ancient site, but has little historical interest in itself.

bride. So that, even as early as the year 1476, or thereabouts, there was a connection between the Hospital School of St. Thomas of Acons and the Mercers' Company, such as might naturally have weight with a member of that company in choosing a place of education for his son.

It would be difficult at this distance of time to pronounce on the respective merits of these two schools, or to determine precisely what kind of teaching was given in each. Both were gradually developed. The hospital called after St. Anthony¹ was originally established, in the place of a Jewish synagogue, about the year 1231. The foundation was at first for a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men. In the reign of Henry VI., a Dr. John Carpenter² was master of the hospital; and about 1442 the king endowed it with certain property for the maintenance of five scholars in the University of Oxford, such scholars to have the benefit, before going to Oxford, of a previous training in grammar at his newly-founded College of Eton.³ The king's foresight in thus preparing feeders, as we should now call them, for his splendid foundation at Eton, is worth noticing. In 1474 Edward IV. further augmented St. Anthony's, on the model of the parent institution at Vienne in France. But soon after the hospital became annexed to St. George's, Windsor; and though the school continued into the reign of Elizabeth, the rest of the property was not left to wait for the inquisition of Henry VIII. The story of its dissolution, as told by Stow, is so instructive, and may be thought such a typical one, as to deserve quoting. "One Johnson," he says, "a Schoolmaster here, became a prebendary of Windsor; and then, by little

¹ I retain the popular form of the name. St. Antony, sometimes called the Great, was reputed the father of monasticism in Egypt. He died in 356, at the age, as is generally stated, of 105.

² Confused by Timbs, "School-days of Eminent Men," 1858, p. 48, with the Town Clerk of that name before mentioned. Probably they were relations; for the latter leaves a bequest by his will to "Master John Carpynter, warden of the hospital of St. Anthony." The bequest was a book on architecture. See Brewer, *ubi sup.*, p. 137.

³ Stow's "Survey," by Strype, 1720, vol. i. (bk. ii.), p. 120.

and little, followed the Spoile of this Hospitall. He first dissolved the Quire, conveyed away the Plate and Ornaments, then the Bels, and lastly put out the Almes-men from their Houses, appointing them portions of 12 pence the week to each. But now I heare of no such matter performed : for their houses, with other, be letten out for rent, and the Church is a preaching-place for the French nation, who hold it at this day of the church at Windsor.”¹ Still, in spite of such an anticipator of Henry, the school of St. Anthony was largely attended as late as 1562, when two hundred children from it, “all well be-seen,” marched in procession from Mile End to Austin Friars.² And a courtier of Elizabeth’s, who was in attendance at Kenilworth in 1575, accounts for his scholarship by saying, “I went to school, forsooth, both at Poules and also at St. Antonies ; [was] in the fifth Forme, past Esops Fables, read Terence, *Vos isthæc intro auferte*, and began with my Virgil, *Tityre tu patulæ*. I could [= knew] my Rules, could construe and pars with the best of them.”³ The anecdote is interesting, both as showing us in faint outline what the course of study was, and as indicating the estimation in which St. Anthony’s School was then held.⁴

Of St. Thomas of Acons some account has already been given.⁵ The Sir John Neel who, with three others of the London clergy, petitioned parliament in 1447 for the establishment of additional schools, was master of the hospital. Both he and William Lichfield, rector of Allhallows the Great, were among the friends of John Carpenter. But of the fortunes of

¹ It is instructive to compare with this the article in the “Times” of Dec. 24th, 1885, headed, “The Demolition of the Charterhouse.”

² Stow, “Survey,” p. 130.

³ *Ib.*, p. 120.

⁴ St. Anthony’s claimed William Latimer, Sir Thomas More, and two archbishops—Heath, of York, and Whitgift, of Canterbury. See Johnson’s “Life of Linacre,” 1835, p. 20.

⁵ See above, p. 17, and comp. Carlisle, ii., p. 44 ; Herbert, i., p. 263. The list of eminent men who, as Carlisle says, “seem most certainly to have been educated in this school,” wants authentication. He places Sir Thomas Gresham among them ; but Gresham’s biographer (Burgon, “Life and Times,” &c., 1839, i., p. 44) does not appear to be aware of it.

the school connected with the hospital little is known till after the suppression of religious houses in Henry VIII.'s time. Stow mentions it as one of four schools—the other three being St. Paul's, St. Peter's Westminster, and St. Anthony's—from which he had heard rival disputants contend in his youth.¹

It is much to be regretted that no account of Colet's school-days has been preserved for us. Not only do we fail to meet with any notice of them in other records, but in his own later writings Colet makes little or no allusion to this period of his life. He is in this respect as reticent as Erasmus is communicative. On whatever subject Erasmus writes, it is always illustrated from the world as it lies about him, or through which he has passed. His reminiscences of schools are for the most part rather gloomy, being tinged by his own experiences. "At the present time," he writes in one place,² "all public instruction has passed into the hands of schoolmasters. And though there ought to have been the greatest care in appointing them, those assigned to the post are, as a rule, a shabby, broken-down set of men, sometimes hardly in their senses. So mean the place, so miserable the pittance, you would say that pigs were being reared there, and not that respectable people's children were being taught." In London, we may hope, things were better in this respect. But, to our modern ideas, a schoolboy's life in the last quarter of the fifteenth century would seem to have been rough and hard. The interior of the school-room is familiar to us from the many woodcuts on the title-pages of old books,³ sometimes from the corporate seal of ancient schools, where such a scene is represented. There we see the awe-inspiring Orbilius seated, with birch erect in one hand, and the forefinger of the other tracing a line of the open book on his knee. Beside him is the biggest boy, reading from it, while the rest of the flock are

¹ "Survay," ed. 1598, p. 55.

² "Christiani Matrimonii Institutum," 1536, leaf A 8.

³ As on that of a copy of "Sulpitii verulani oratoris . . . opus grammatices," with no date beyond the imprint, "Perussie, septimo ydus Aprilis," but, I should think, of about 1490.

seated on the floor, or, it may be, on little three-legged stools, gazing up with looks of admiration at the performance. Sometimes, but rarely, they sit at desks, with stiff, high backs, as though for writing. But, in general, the lesson was oral. Boys learnt by hearing what the master said. The attentive ones would go over it again mentally at home, marking by a note in the margin of their text-book what they had thought most worthy of being remembered.¹

The books a boy of Colet's time would be set to learn, after his "A B C book,"² would be, first and foremost, his Latin Grammar; then, probably, Cato's "*Disticha de Moribus*," and, afterwards, one or more of the authors previously named by Queen Elizabeth's courtier,³ as read in his time at St. Anthony's School. The Latin Grammar in use about 1476 would as likely as not be either the "*Doctrinale*" of Alexander Dolensis, or the "*Editio Secunda*" (the "Second Part") of Ælius Donatus, commonly called a *Donat*. A few words may be said about each of these once famous school-books.

Alexander, surnamed De Villa Dei (Ville-Dieu), a native of Dol in Brittany, whence his common appellation of Dolensis, was a Minorite friar who flourished about 1240.⁴ He was the author of various works, but by far the most popular was his Latin Grammar in rhyming hexameters. It began:—

"Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis,
Pluraque doctorum sociabo scripta meorum.
Jamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani
Quæ veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris."⁵

¹ See the rules, "*De disciplina et puerorum institutione*," appended to the "*Christiana studiosæ juventutis institutio*" of Christophorus Hegendorphinus, Paris, 1531: "*Si quid venustius, si quid elegantius, si quid concinnius dictum videbitur, annotabis indice, aut asterisco apposito.*" In the Library of St. Paul's School are one or two early copies of Horace and Terence with the margins thickly fringed with such index-fingers.

² This usually contained some elements of religious instruction besides the alphabet. There is a specimen of one, of a somewhat later date, in the Grenville Library (numbered 11686).

³ *Ante*, p. 19.

⁴ Trithemius, "*De Scriptoribus*" (1546), p. 189.

⁵ From an edition printed at Venice in 1482, 4to.

This may give the reader some faint idea of the style of the work ; but nothing short of an actual examination of some specimens of early-printed editions, or still older manuscript copies, can give him any conception of the laborious way in which every line, almost every word, of the text was commented on, first in print, and (as often happened) in manuscript notes superadded. Here, for instance, is the printed gloss on the first line alone. I must ask the learned reader's indulgence for giving it in English :—

“ Since the text is plain, it needs no explanation. But still, in accordance with the method to be observed in what follows, construe thus :—*I, master Alexander, am preparing to write a manual,*¹ that is, a book conveying learning, *for young little clerks,* that is, for scholars ; as though to say, this work is not being written for advanced but for elementary students.”

As if this were not enough, in another edition² the reader's attention is directed to the first line by the printed note, “*Intentio Alexandri.*” And opposite it, in the copy described below,³ some diligent student has improved the hint by composing three lines in the same leonine metre on the distinction between the *formal, material, efficient, and final* cause of the work. His rhymes are often ingenious, as when, on the third line, he glosses, regardless of quantity :—

“*Tunc homo nugatur, cum falsa loquens fabulatur.
Sed tunc mentitur, sibi discors cum reperitur.*”

By the beginning of the next century, Alexander began to fall into disrepute. “*Asinus Parrhisiensis*” is the title applied to him by one of the speakers in the “*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* ;”⁴ and Skelton, about the same time, ridicules him as “a gander of Menander's pole.”⁵

¹ The word *doctrinale*, answering to *doctrinam*, cannot be literally translated. *Lehrbuch* in German would answer to it.

² Ulme, 1487, leaf a, ii.

³ Brit. Mus. 12933, l.

⁴ Ed. 1557, leaf Q 4, vers.

⁵ Quoted in Warton's “*History of English Poetry*” (Murray's reprint), p. 549, n. See also Mullinger's “*University of Cambridge*,” part i., p. 515, n.

Still more common in schools, perhaps, than the "Doctrinale" was the work of Ælius Donatus, the teacher of St. Jerome. Nothing can testify more distinctly to the wide use of his treatise, "De octo Partibus Orationis," than the fact that the author's name came to be employed to express an elementary treatise, or introduction, for any other subject.

"Than (then) drave I me among drapers my donet to lerne,"

wrote Longland in his "Vision of Piers Plowman,"¹ and the title which Colet himself afterwards gave to the little Latin grammar of his own composing, "Coleti æditio," was plainly in imitation of the "Donati editio secunda." Being a short, practical manual in prose, it would only weary the reader to give extracts from it. A similar tendency to that which crowded the lines of Alexander with glosses, perverted "Donatus" into a treatise of morals. Among the works ascribed to the Chancellor Gerson, about half a century before the school-days with which we are concerned, is a "Donatus moralizatus."² In it the terms of the grammarian are twisted into a religious signification, and the *declension* of the noun is made to stand for the *declension* of the soul from God.

Had Colet been at school some ten or twenty years later he would have been in time for the greatly improved grammars of Holt and Stanbridge. The "Lac Puerorum," or "Mylke for Children," of Master John Holt, said to be the earliest Latin Grammar published in this country, appeared between 1486 and 1496.³ Its author was master of the school attached to Magdalen College, Oxford, and therefore not to be confounded,

¹ Warton, as before, p. 186, n.

² "Histoire Littéraire de la France," t. xxiv. (1862), p. 384. "Prima declinatio est ab obedientia Dei in suggestionem diaboli : per hanc declinavit Eva," &c.

³ There is no date to the only copy I have seen (Grenville Library, No. 7567), but it is printed by Pynson, and dedicated to Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. This last circumstance fixes the limits of publication to 1486-1496. One other copy, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, is said to have been in Heber's library.

as is sometimes done, with Nicholas Holt, the master of St. Anthony's Hospital School, the teacher of William Latimer and Sir Thomas More.¹ In Holt's Grammar there is a sensible accommodation to the mental powers of children. The tables of declensions are simplified and made easy for the memory by means of rude woodcuts. One represents a hand stretched out, the five fingers of which are labelled with the names of the first five cases, while a place is found for the ablative on the ball of the thumb. This was, perhaps, felt to be a rather lame device, for a leaf or two farther on we have the same lesson illustrated more completely by a primitive drawing of a bunch of tallow candles, looped together at the top by the wicks. Being "sixes," they can be made to stand for the six cases; while across them, horizontally, are printed the terminations of the five declensions. Such a rough paradigm would impress itself on the minds of children much more quickly and effectually than the laboured verses, overloaded with gloss and comment, of Alexander Dolensis. Of Stanbridge's Grammar nothing but a tradition seems to remain. John Stanbridge, after being first usher and then master of the grammar school of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, was, in 1501, appointed master of the hospital of St. John at Banbury; whilst Thomas Stanbridge, apparently a brother or near relative, was at the same time master of the grammar school there.² A Latin Grammar, the joint production of John Stanbridge and his scholar, Robert Whittington of Lichfield, is said to have been printed by Wynkyn de Worde.³

¹ See Johnson's "Life of Linacre," 1835, p. 20.

² See Bloxam's "Register," before quoted, vol. iii., pp. 11-14, where Stanbridge's career is traced. He died in 1510. His scholar, Robert Whittington, was also famous as a grammarian; and it seems strange to read, in an article in "Macmillan's Magazine," xxxvi., p. 206, n., of "*one* R. Whittington" as being "*Grammatices magister laureatus*." The very site of Banbury School, once celebrated, cannot now be ascertained. See Beesley's "History of Banbury," 1841, p. 194.

³ Lansdowne MSS., 808, f. 67, in a "Discourse of Gramers," among the papers of the antiquary John Bagford. See also a communication by J. H. Hessels, in the "Athenæum," Nov. 4, 1871.

But of this, as I said, no trace remains, except in the traditional merit ascribed to the system of grammar teaching adopted by Stanbridge. In the "Statutes of Manchester Grammar School" (1524) the master is required to "teach children grammar after the school-use, manner, and form of the School of Banbury, in Oxfordshire, now there taught, which is called Stanbridge Grammar."¹ That Colet at a later period was not satisfied with any of the Latin Grammars known to him, is evident from the fact of his asking Linacre to prepare one, and ultimately drawing up a short form himself.

One of his first construing books would, as likely as not, be Cato's "Disticha de Moribus." The popularity of this little work is shown by the number of printed editions of it that appeared even before the close of the fifteenth century. More than thirty such have been enumerated, and this is probably not a complete list.² It consists of a number of short, detached adages in prose, such as *Meliorē te nē contempseris*, and the like,³ followed by four books of "distichs," or pairs of hexameter lines, filled with moral precepts. The sententious brevity of these naturally invited "scholia," or comments; and Erasmus did not think it beneath him to provide such a commentary himself. In this, as his manner was, he contrived to bring in his own opinions on various contemporary matters in Church and State; and it would be an interesting subject of speculation, could the question ever be fully answered, to ascertain how far the Reformation movement was due to the principles instilled into youthful minds by such school literature as this.⁴

¹ Carlisle, i., p. 676.

² See Professor Ramsay's article in the "Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography," &c.; and for the controversy as to the real author, Freytag's "Apparatus Litterarius," i., p. 374.

³ One of them, *Ad consilium nē accesseris antequam voceris*, will be remembered as put by Sir Walter Scott into the mouth of Councillor Pleydell, when he would teach Factor Glossin the value of the maxim.

⁴ I have before me Erasmus's edition of the "Disticha," Basle, 1533. The preface, dated 1513, is addressed to John Neve, of Hondschoote.

It would be tedious to follow the schoolboy course through the other authors which have been mentioned as read at St. Anthony's, and which are to be found specified in the statutes of many schools of early foundation.¹ Suffice it to say, that about the year 1483, being then (if the date be correct) rather above the average age, Colet left school for the university, exchanging the political commotions of the City, on Richard III.'s accession, for the academic strife of mediæval Oxford.

On the maxim *Hic tibi præcipue sit pura mente colendus* (p. 11) his remark is that nowadays the common run of Christians worship God with outward, bodily ceremonies. Again, on *Ne credas placare deum, dum cade litatur*, he remarks, in a strain very similar to that of his "Peregrinatio" afterwards, how most Christians thought they laid God and the saints under an obligation to them, if they hung up at their shrines jewels, and gold, and the like; objects that were either for display, or for the enrichment of a few. In the same year as this edition came out (1533), Mathurin Cordier also issued one with a commentary in French.

¹ A list of such authors is given by Colet himself in the Statutes for St. Paul's. He does not include Æsop, though the extensive use of the "Fables" in his own early years is attested by the great number of editions that appeared. One in Greek as well as Latin is cited by Brunet under the year 1480. Indeed, a perusal of the list of early school editions would give one the impression that Greek was studied earlier in continental schools than is generally supposed. Sometimes Cato and Æsop were issued together, as afterwards, in a phonetic translation, by William Bulloker, in 1585. See Brüggemann's "View of the English Editions," 1797, p. 715.

CHAPTER III.

AT THE UNIVERSITY.

Magdalen College.—State of Oxford in Richard III.'s time.—Contrast between then and now.—University Buildings.—Studies : the "Trivium" and "Quadrivium."—Platonic influences.

THAT it was to Oxford that Colet went is beyond question. But it is again disappointing to be left without any certain knowledge of the college or hall at which he entered. Magdalen, then newly founded by William of Waynflete, is commonly supposed to have been the one ; but this is after all only a matter of conjecture.¹ To this noble foundation, completed but eight years before his own birth, Colet might naturally be attracted ; but, on the other hand, his name is not to be found on any of its extant registers.² There is some very slight evidence to connect him with Exeter College, but this amounts to no more than that he is found twice dining there in 1519 (the summer before his death), and that his friend Grocyn was Greek Lecturer there.³

Supposing, then, on the strength of the very slight evidence

¹ It rests chiefly on a statement of Wood ("Athenæ," i., p. 22), that "he was sent to . . . the university of Oxon about 1483, at which time one or more of his surname were of S. Mary Magdalen College."

² A full and laborious publication of these was made by the Rev. J. R. Bloxam, D.D., Fellow and Librarian, in 7 vols. (1853-1881) ; but, though Lily's name is found, Colet's is not. The learned editor, moreover, has kindly informed me that he has not since discovered any trace of Colet there.

³ Boase, "Registers of . . . Exeter College," 1879, p. 27, n., where the entry is given : "xxiii^d. pro vino dato Doctori Colett 2bus vicibus." See also Pref., p. xvii. It is unfortunate that the "Register of the University of Oxford," vol. i., lately edited by Mr. Boase, has a gap between the years 1464-1504, extending over the period at which Colet was at Oxford.

we possess, that it was to the College of St. Mary Magdalen that Colet went, about the year 1483, we must try to form some conception of the scene about him, and of the manner of life he would lead there.

It is difficult, at this distance of time, to realize the aspect and condition of Oxford as it was at the accession of Richard III. To begin with, we must sweep away from our survey most of the buildings that now make Oxford so beautiful and imposing a city. Not merely will the evident modernisms of our own generation have to go, but many an edifice whose walls have now grown grey. As the traveller of to-day enters Oxford from the London road, and crosses the stone bridge over the Cherwell, his eye is impressed with the beauty of the scene that opens out before him—the tower and shady walks of Magdalen on his right, then the long avenues of Christ Church on his left, the vista of towers and spires that break upon his view as he winds along the gentle curve of High Street. The traveller who entered Oxford from London, as Colet might have done, in 1483, would see but little of this. He would have no many-arched bridge to carry him over the river, for Gwynn's noble work was not undertaken till 1779. Magdalen College would indeed catch his eye on the right, but devoid, as yet, of its chief ornament, the stately tower, with its "sweet bells"—

"Still wont to usher in delightful May ;"

for the foundation-stone of this was not laid till 1492. No Water-walk as yet fringed the banks of the river, for "Maudlin's learned grove" was not laid out till the days of Elizabeth, and the Physic Garden on the left still later. As we accompany the wayfarer of four centuries ago in his progress through the city, building after building must disappear as by the touch of a magician's wand. Christ Church, with all its glories, must vanish, for it wants fifty years, as yet, to the time of its birth. Along with it must disappear Corpus Christi (1516), and Pembroke (1624).¹ On the north of High

¹ The dates are taken from the "University Calendar." It is easy to

Street the work of effacement will be still more extensive. Brasenose (1509) must go, and with it Jesus (1571), and, what is more, nearly the whole group of public buildings surrounding the Radcliffe Library. Nearly every one of the edifices, in fact, described in the "University Calendar" under the head of "Institutions," must disappear. The Divinity School, indeed, enthroned in the centre of the western side of the quadrangle, still stands in its ancient beauty; but not as when, fresh from the chisel of Duke Humphrey's workmen, it would meet the eye of Colet.¹ The traceried buttresses outside it are the work of Wren in 1701.² Of the venerable Bodleian Library itself, the greater part dates only from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1610 the building was begun which converted into a T form the single line of the old Library over the Schools; while the third line, which completed the ground-plan in its present shape of the letter H, was some four and twenty years later. The now famous benefactions of Dr. Radcliffe³ are of a still more modern date, as are also those which bear the names of Elias Ashmole and Lord Clarendon. Broad Street will be an equal loser with High Street. From its vicinity must be removed Wadham (1613), St. John's and Trinity (1555); while distant Worcester will not escape, being in fact the most recent of them all.

And, as we have despoiled the city of its chief ornaments, we must also imprison it within a circuit of walls. Not that there had been raised in Colet's time the double line of zig-zag, but we must understand that the dates of foundations may be differently given by different authorities, according as the grant of a royal charter, the laying of the first stone, the opening of the buildings for use, or even some other event connected with the work, is regarded as that by which the "foundation" is to be dated.

¹ It was opened in 1480. See Broderick, "History of the University of Oxford," 1886, p. 60.

² Wade, "Walks in Oxford," 1818, ii., p. 289, a work from which several of the particulars here given have been derived.

³ The Grammar School of Wakefield has a claim on the gratitude of both Universities, for from it Oxford received one of its most princely benefactors, John Radcliffe, and Cambridge, Richard Bentley.

zag fortifications, which, on Wood's map, make Oxford look the impregnable fortress that in the Civil Wars it in fact was. For these it had to wait for the engineering genius of Bechmann.¹ But from an early period it was a walled city; and some traces of the old lines of defence may still be seen skirting the north-eastern boundaries of Wadham.

Still, we must not suppose that Oxford will have been stripped of all its glories in this process. So deeply do both our old Universities strike their roots into the past, that, even as far back as 1483, there would be colleges standing whose age was to be reckoned by centuries. As the newcomer emerged from what is now Bridge Street into High Street, he would pass on his left the venerable University College, with Merton behind it, both dating from the thirteenth century;² and, on his right, Queen's, dating from the fourteenth. Further on, he would see Balliol, in Broad Street, rivalling Merton in antiquity; Exeter and Oriel, both older than Queen's; New College, Lincoln, and All Souls': all these were in existence before Waynflete cleared the ground for Magdalen Hall and College.

To complete the picture, and people Oxford in imagination with the denizens on whom Colet's eyes would have rested, we must not leave out of count two most important features—the Halls and the Religious Houses. It was still an age of halls and hostels, though their number had begun to decline. The growth of collegiate foundations was fast absorbing these older and simpler societies. And so, while in 1451 we have a list of about eighty halls given as existing in Oxford, in 1462 they had fallen to seventy, and were destined to decline still more rapidly. By 1503 the number had sunk to

¹ See an article by the Rev. Mark Pattison in "Macmillan's Magazine," vol. xxxiii., p. 237. The Act for taking down the east and north gates (the south and west gates having been before demolished) was passed in 1771. See Brodrick, "History, &c.," as before, p. 188.

² I need not enter into the disputed subject of the origin of University College. Anstey ("Munimenta Academica," *Introd.*, p. xxix.), disposes of the question in few words.

fifty, and by 1511 to twenty-six.¹ But for the present they were still numerous. There would be little in them, however, to attract the notice of a stranger. They, and even the schools in which lectures were delivered, were nothing more than roomy houses, though often mentioned as having gardens adjacent to them. The site of some can be still traced; that of many more has been covered by the spacious edifices of later times. Worcester College is on the site of Gloucester Hall; Broadgates Hall has been merged in Pembroke College; Trilleck's, where Charles I. had his mint, in New Inn; Stapledon Hall, in Exeter; and so on. Brasenose, in particular, is said to occupy the site, in whole or in part, of no fewer than eight of these halls or hostels.²

Perhaps the most interesting feature of all, however, in mediæval Oxford, had we power to reproduce it faithfully, would be the religious houses. If it has required an effort of the imagination to leave out of the view so many of the present noble buildings, it will require one at least as great to fill the picture instead with the academic homes of the monastic orders. That they should be found there in such numbers, and, in some cases, in such splendour, need occasion no surprise. The wants of communities remain much the same, even after great and sweeping changes have passed over them. Just as scholars from Westminster now resort to Christ Church, or from Merchant Taylors' School to St. John's, so from many

¹ Anstey's "Munimenta," pp. 618, 687, *Introd.*, p. xlviii. The system of living in halls or hostels, "hospitia" (mere houses rented by a body of students from some burgher), was one main feature in which the University of Oxford differed from that of Paris. The fundamental idea of the earlier colleges was that of charitably assisting poor students through their academic course. See Kirkpatrick, "The historically received conception of the University," 1857, pp. 244-254.

² Wade, *ubi sup.*, i., p. 38. How large the number must at one time have been, is shown by the long list of names and sites recovered by the industry of Anthony à Wood. By 1773 only five of the ancient ones were left. See Wood's "Ancient and Present State, &c." by Peshall, 1773, p. 30. In our own day we have seen a revival, to some extent, of the ancient system, in the establishment of private halls,—Charsley's and Turrell's.

a great abbey, before the Dissolution, novices would be sent to some branch of the society specially appointed for them in Oxford. It is stated¹ that from the most learned of the monastic orders, the Benedictines, three-fourths of their scholars were thus moved on to the University, and that "the visitor on his way to the Gardens of Worcester College" even yet "passes on his left hand several small staircases, which were once Benedictine hostels, and still remain with their original doorways and separate roofs, and the arms of such monasteries as St. Alban's over the entrances." Nor was it only that representatives of the various orders were to be found thus domiciled in their special quarters. Some of those orders had been endowed with large possessions, and had buildings described as magnificent within Oxford itself. Oseney Abbey, some four or five hundred yards east of St. Thomas' Church, was so noble a pile that, at the Dissolution, its church was designed to be the cathedral of the diocese. Its tower and peal of bells lived long after in popular tradition. The conventual body of Durham had their college, where Trinity now stands. The Dominican Friars had a home in St. Ebbe's parish; the Minorites a still more stately one just outside the walls, with a church, "a grand edifice, measuring 158 paces in length."² Carmelites, Crutched Friars, Cistercians—these, and many more, were established in the city. Space would forbid us to mention even the bare names of all; but three of these communities in particular seem to claim a passing notice. The first of them, St. Mary's College of student Canons of the Augustinian order, is interesting to us in connection with Erasmus. It stood near New Inn Lane, and was founded in Henry V.'s reign (with confirmation by Henry VI. in 1435) by Thomas Holden and his wife Elizabeth, as "a nursery for the younger canons out of the several abbeys of this order in England."³ Its chapel is described as having been a fair

¹ Boase, "Register of the Univ. of Oxford," Pref., p. xv. See also Maxwell Lyte's "University of Oxford," 1886, pp. 159-160.

² Wade, *ubi sup.*, ii., p. 419.

³ Wood, "Ancient and Present State," p. 177.

fabric, built of freestone. After the Dissolution it fell into decay, and the materials of the fabric were given to Brasenose College, to be used in the rebuilding of their chapel, about 1656. It was here that Erasmus took up his abode in 1498; and from its prior, Richard Charnock, he received kind attention and hospitality, and an introduction to Colet.¹

The other two religious houses referred to deserve notice from their own importance. One was the Friary of the Augustinian Eremites, who had a settlement in Oxford as early as the thirteenth century. Wadham College now stands upon the site. Before its gates was held one of the two great annual fairs of Oxford. The Divinity and Arts' Schools of these Augustinians became so celebrated, that the phrase "doing Austins" survived till recent times as an expression for certain academic exercises.² The remaining one of the two was the famous priory of St. Frideswide. Whatever amount of legend may be mixed up with the history of this patron saint of Oxford, described as a contemporary of Bede, it seems certain that within fifty years after the Conquest her nunnery had been replaced by a priory of Augustinian regulars, and that these had been greatly enriched by successive kings and bishops. The second of the two great fairs of Oxford above referred to was held before its gates on the commemoration-day of the saint, October 19th.³ After its dissolution the priory was given by Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey, as a help towards the establishment of his projected college, afterwards known as Christ Church. It is instructive to notice in this, as in several other cases, that the work of suppression was first performed by the Papal Court. The existence of St. Frideswide's was put an end to, not by the arbitrary power of an English sovereign, but by a bull of

¹ Seebohm, "Oxford Reformers," p. 94; Maxwell Lyte, "University of Oxford," p. 393.

² Wood, *ubi sup.*, p. 246. "To this day," says his editor, "disputations called Austins are kept up on Wednesdays and Saturdays in full term, from one o'clock to three in the afternoon."

³ See the "Collectanea, First Series," published by the Oxford Hist. Society, 1885, p. 75.

Clement VII., dated April 5th, 1524.¹ The event was, indeed, only a prominent one in a long succession of events, all tending in the same direction. As far back as 1264, when Walter de Merton founded the college named after him, a decisive step had been taken towards providing for the lay education of the country. That great prelate—who was a lord chancellor as well as a bishop—founded Merton College “on a plan which excluded the monastic influence altogether.”² The statutes of Balliol, University, and Oriel, as well as those of Peterhouse, the most ancient of the colleges at Cambridge, were all originally modelled on the pattern of those of Merton; while the statutes of Exeter, the fourth college in order of foundation at Oxford, required only one of its fellows to be in holy orders. “The employment of his scholars,” says the latest historian of Merton,³ “was to be study; not the *claustralis religio* of the older religious orders, nor the more practical and popular self-devotion of the Dominicans and Franciscans.” It was a natural sequel to movements of this kind that, when Bishop Fox was contemplating the establishment in Oxford of a college which should be a nursery for St. Swithin’s Priory at Winchester, he was diverted from his purpose by the advice of Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter. “What, my Lord,” Bishop Oldham is reported to have said, “shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of monks, whose

¹ Wood, *ubi sup.*, p. 120; Maxwell Lyte, p. 441. Wolsey is stated to have obtained from the same Pope bulls for the suppression of no fewer than twenty-two priories and nunneries, preparatory to his foundation of Cardinal College,—the present Christ Church. To gain a site for his College at Ipswich he had in like manner obtained a bull for the suppression of the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul. See Wade, *ubi sup.*, i., p. 252. So also Bishop Fisher obtained from Clement VII. a bull for the dissolution of the two nunneries of Bromehall and Higham, Oct. 1st, 1524, when wanting revenues for his foundation of St. John’s College, Cambridge. See Lewis’s “Life of Fisher” (edn. 1855), i., pp. 165-167, where the additional instances are cited of Archbishop Chicheley and William of Wykeham.

² Boase, “Register of . . . Exeter College,” 1879, Pref., p. i.

³ Brodrick, “Memorials of Merton College” (1885), p. 11. See also Boase, *ubi sup.*

end and fall we may ourselves live to see? No, no; it is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good to the church and commonwealth.”¹ Moved by this expostulation, Fox enlarged his views, and ended by founding Corpus Christi College in 1515.

Into a community undergoing these organic changes was Colet now admitted. It would be easy from the materials accumulated in recent times by antiquaries and historians to produce a picture of the kind of life an Oxford undergraduate would then lead. The youthful age of large numbers of the scholars; the variety of their costume;² their hard fare and humble lodging—sometimes as many as four in one straw-littered room;³ the severity with which order had to be kept in such dormitories; the “closely-packed, squalid habitations in irregular streets and lanes;”⁴ the poor *vicus scholarum*, with its “thirty-two humble tenements,” in place of the present central pile of University buildings;⁵ the frequent brawls in the streets;⁶ the scarcity of books, and meagre furniture of

¹ Wade, *ubi sup.*, i., p. 229. Hugh Oldham was himself the Founder of Manchester School; and when we observe how closely its statutes were modelled upon those of St. Paul’s, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion, that Oldham had been as much influenced by Colet, as Bishop Fox was in turn by him.

² Anstey, “Munim. Acad.,” i., p. lxvi., says that no distinctive academical dress was worn by non-graduate members till much later times. But this is doubted. See Mullinger, “The University of Cambridge,” part i., p. 348, n.

³ “The Magdalen statutes order that in each of the better rooms there shall be two chief beds and two beds on wheels, *lecti rotales*, ‘trookyll beddys’ The services of a ratcatcher (*ratonarius*) had to be called in sometimes.”—Boase, “Register . . . of Exeter Coll.,” Pref., p. x. The statutes of Trinity College, Cambridge, assigned four scholars, pensioners, or sizars, to one chamber, if it were large enough. Peacock, “Statutes of the Univ. of Cambridge,” p. 4, n.

⁴ Montagu Burrows, “Worthies of All Souls,” 1874, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* Compare also Professor Holland’s article in “Macmillan’s Magazine,” 1877, p. 205.

⁶ In 1341 the tower of Carfax church was lowered, by the king’s order; the scholars having complained that the townsmen resorted to it as to a

lecture rooms; the shifts to which numbers of the scholars were put to maintain themselves; ¹ the eagerness with which academic disputations would be engaged in, in days when there was no public press to carry off the superfluous energy of party spirit ²—all these, and many more features of Oxford life four centuries ago, have been made clear to us by the researches of recent writers. In some aspects the life of scholars then may seem to us a gloomy and even squalid one, compared with that which their successors now live. But the elements of nobility were not wanting to it. To use the eloquent words of the historian of Merton College, in a passage which I will not spoil by curtailing: ³—

“In the chilly squalor of uncarpeted and unwarmed chambers, by the light of narrow and unglazed casements, or the gleam of flickering oil-lamps, poring over dusky manuscripts hardly to be deciphered by modern eyesight, undisturbed by the boisterous din of revelry and riot without, men of humble birth, and dependent on charity for a bare subsistence, but with a noble self-confidence transcending that of Bacon or Newton, thought out and copied out those subtle masterpieces of mediæval lore, purporting to unveil the hidden laws of Nature as well as the dark counsels of Providence and the secrets of human destiny, which—frivolous and baseless as they may appear under the scrutiny of a later criticism—must still be ranked among the grandest achievements of specula-

castle, when any feud broke out, thence to “gall and annoy them with arrows and stones.”—Wood, “Ancient and Present State,” p. 177.

¹ Frequent mention is made in Anstey of the University chests, in which a needy student could deposit some solitary article of value in pledge, money being advanced upon it as by a pawnbroker. The licensed begging of undergraduates on their way home from Oxford or Cambridge is often alluded to in contemporary writers, as in a MS. poem of the 15th century:—

“Than cometh Clerkys of Oxford, and mak their mone,
To her (their) scole-hire they moot have money.”

See Fuller’s “Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge” (ed. Prickett and Wright, 1840), p. 121, n., where the passage is quoted.

² See Broderick’s “Memorials of Merton College,” p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

tive reason. We must remember that archery and other outdoor sports were then mostly in the nature of martial exercises, reserved for the warlike classes, while music and the fine arts were all but unknown; and the sedentary labour of the student was relieved neither by the athletic nor by the æsthetic pastimes of our own more favoured age. Under such conditions, the fire of intellectual ambition burned with a tenfold intensity, and it was tempered by no such humility as the infinite range of modern science imposes on the boldest of its disciples. In many a nightly vigil, and in many a lonely ramble over the wild hill-sides beyond Cowley and Hincksey, or along the river-sides between Godstow and Iffley, these pioneers of philosophical research, to whom alchemy was chemistry, and astronomy the key to astrology, constantly pursued their hopeless quest of Wisdom, as it was dimly conceived by the patriarch Job, fearlessly essaying that perilous and shadowy path which the vulture's eye hath not seen, nor the lion's whelp hath trodden, but which they fondly imagined might lead them up to some primary law governing the whole realm of matter and of mind. They failed, indeed, because success was impossible; but their very failure paved the way for the 'new knowledge' of the Renaissance, and cleared the ground for the methods and discoveries which have made other names immortal."

But the reader may think it time to ask what the subjects of study would be, on which Colet would have to spend the next seven or eight years of his life. The question can be answered, though not in minute detail. Assuming that his age was seventeen at the date of entry—an age somewhat in advance of the average—he would not, in the ordinary course of things, spend any time in one of the preliminary schools of grammar, but would begin at once his course of study in arts. This was a course based on the old theory of a *trivium*, or series of three subjects, more or less concerned with the expression of thought; and a *quadrivium*, or series of four, regarded as introductory to philosophy itself. Grammar, rhetoric, and logic composed the first group, and served as a portal to *eloquence*;

arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy formed the second, through which the neophyte was led on to *wisdom*.¹ But without entering on this well-worn topic, we need only remark, that, before the middle of the fifteenth century, this time-honoured system of study had been considerably modified at Oxford. Among the statutes of that University there is preserved an ordinance, dated 1431,² defining very precisely what the course of study should be for "inception" in arts.³ Though this was fifty years before Colet's undergraduateship, it may probably give a correct outline of the curriculum he would have to follow. Premising, then, that there were reckoned four terms in an academic year, each term containing thirty days on which lectures were to be delivered,⁴ we find that grammar was to occupy the whole of one year; rhetoric three terms, or three-quarters of the second; and logic also three terms; the *trivium* being thus brought to an end in about two years and a half. Then followed the course representing the old *quadrivium*. In this, arithmetic had one year assigned to it; music one year; geometry two terms, or half a year; astronomy the like; natural philosophy, three terms; moral philosophy the same; and metaphysics the same. This latter

¹ "Grammatica, dialectica et rethorica dicuntur trivium, quadam similitudine quasi triplex via ad eloquentiam. Arismetica, musica, geometria et astronomia quadam similitudine dicuntur quadrivium, quasi quadruplex via ad sapientiam."—Lyndewoode, "Super Constit. Provinciales," quoted in Johnson's "Life of Linacre," p. 41, n. Mullinger, in his "University of Cambridge" (1873), p. 24, n., has shown that this theory of seven "liberal arts" was not unknown to Augustine, but received its chief development by Martianus Capella (fl. c. 424). Mullinger also (p. 350, n.) corrects Anstey's view of the course followed by an "artist," as failing to include grammar, the first-named in the *trivium*. Probably Anstey was thinking rather of the elementary studies in grammar. Much would no doubt depend on the age of the learner.

² Given in Anstey's "Munimenta," pp. 285, *sqq.*

³ Speaking roughly, "determining" in Arts answered to our taking the degree of B.A., and "incepting" in Arts to that of M.A. See Boase's "Register of the University of Oxford," i., p. vii., and Maxwell Lyte's "University of Oxford," p. 206. But the ceremonies then and now were so different, that the correspondence is only a partial one.

⁴ Anstey, *ib.*, pp. 286, 447.

course extended over about five years and a quarter, thus making the whole period of study for the degree of Master of Arts close upon eight years.

The thought naturally suggested by glancing over such a list of subjects as this is, that the boundaries of the old *trivium* and *quadrivium* have come to be materially enlarged, by the addition of the three philosophies; and, further, that if these subjects were at all thoroughly studied, they would include a very respectable domain of human knowledge. But it happens that the very text-books to be used are prescribed in the above ordinance; and from them we can gain a fair notion of what the ordinary amount of reading would be.

For grammar, the sole authority named is Priscian, "major" or "minor;" that is, as represented by the first sixteen books of his great work, which treated of the eight parts of speech, or by the two remaining ones, which treated of their construction.¹ Under the head of Rhetoric, the subjects are: Aristotle's treatise, "De Rhetorica;" the fourth book of Boethius on the "Topica" of Cicero; the "Nova Rhetorica" of Cicero;² the "Metamorphoses" of Ovid; and the "Poetria" of Virgil. For Logic: the "De Interpretatione" of Aristotle; the first three books of Boethius on the "Topica;" the two books of Aristotle's "Analytica Priora;" and the "Topica" of the same author, are the subjects specified. Arithmetic and Music are each represented by Boethius alone. Under Geometry we have Euclid, Vitellio's "Perspectiva," and (in some texts) "Alicen," or Al-Hasan.³ Under the last of the arts,

¹ In some early editions these parts were distinguished as "Volumen majus" and "Volumen minus." See Freytag, "Apparatus Litterarius," iii., p. 73.

² That is, the spurious "Libri IV. ad C. Herennium." In early editions this was called the "Nova Rhetorica;" the "De Inventionem" being the "Vetus."

³ An edition of this Arabic mathematician's work was published in 1575 under the title of "Opticæ Thesaurus," in seven books; to which was added the work of Vitellio, mentioned just before. Vitellio, a Polish mathematician of the 13th century, is said to have been the first to give a philosophical explanation of the rainbow.

Astronomy, the only works named are "*Theorica Planetarum*," and Tholomæus in "*Almajesti*."¹ The three Philosophies—Natural, Moral, and Metaphysical—have for text-books nothing but the treatises of Aristotle connected with those subjects.

By a fortunate accident we have preserved to us a record of the books actually sold by an Oxford bookseller during the space of one year (1520), and are thus able to see, not merely what was directed by university ordinances, but what was really asked for by the students of that time, as supplying their practical requirements. This record is nothing more nor less than the day-book of John Dorne, or at least as much of it as covers the business done in the twelve months above mentioned.² It would have been more welcome, for our purpose, if it had shown us the business done forty years before. But some valuable inferences may be drawn from it, even when allowance has been made for the comparative lateness of its date.

One of the first things that will strike us, as we glance over the entries, is the apparent demand for short treatises and summaries. For instance, under the head of Grammar, Priscian (the sole author prescribed in 1431) does not appear. His place is taken by the shorter and more modern compendiums of Sulpitius Verulanus, Stanbridge, and Whitinton.³ The number of these elementary works sold is considerable. For Rhetoric (under which head would come most of what we should now call classical reading) there is an extended

¹ That is, the "*Megalē Syntaxis*" of Cl. Ptolemæus. I presume the work entitled "*Theorica Planetarum*" to be that of Gerard of Cremona, published in 1472. For some notice of early astronomical writers, see the *Introd.* to Colet's "*Lectures on 1 Corinthians*," p. xl.

² Edited by Mr. Madan in vol. i. of the "*Collectanea*" of the Oxford Historical Society.

³ In a copy of Priscian before me (the Aldine edition of 1527), the first sixteen books ("*Priscianus major*") occupy 352 closely printed pages: the remaining books ("*Priscianus minor*") 134 more. The desire for a shorter treatise is intelligible. For Giovanni Sulpicio see Johnson's "*Life of Linacre*," p. 151. Stanbridge and Whitinton have been spoken of before, p. 24, n.

field of choice, as is shown by the numerous editions of Cicero, Ovid, Terence, and other classical authors. The name of George of Trebizond is also found among the entries. But it is in Logic that there would seem to have been the greatest demand for summaries and introductions. The ordinances of 1431 named only two authors—Aristotle and Boethius—in this section. But in Dorne's list we have Bricot, and Walter Burley, and Faber, and Petrus Hispanus, and Tartaretus, and the "Insolubilia," and many another text-book on the subject.¹

Under the head of Arithmetic, the change of authors indicates a noticeable change of system. In the ordinances, Boethius was the one authority specified for this subject, as also for music. In the list of 1520, Boethius is not named under this heading; but, instead of him, Jacobus Faber Stapulensis. This implies that the Boethian system had given way to the Algoristic; in other words, that arithmetic was taking a form more needed for practical use. Boethius, and those who followed him, gave no rules for computation, and no application of the art to the requirements of commerce or daily life. So treated, it was simply a series of disquisitions on the properties of numbers.² In the second, or Algoristic³ system, which was more nearly connected with algebra, as the other was with geometry, some attempt was made to

¹ For an account of some of these writers on logic, see the Introduction to Colet's "Lectures on Romans" (1873), pp. xiv.-xvii.; Mullinger's "Cambridge," i., 350; and the Introduction to Mansel's edition of Aldrich's "Artis Logicæ Compendium" (1856). Dean Mansel notes the fact that the term *logicæ* is not found in the writings of Aristotle himself.

² See the late Professor De Morgan's "Arithmetical Books," Intro., p. xx. Boethius begins with various definitions of numbers, as "pares" and "impares," subdivided into "pariter pares," and "pariter impares," and so on. The title of one chapter, "De generatione numeri perfecti," is suggestive of the whole. It followed naturally that geometrical problems were largely introduced. Hence such headings as "De hexagonis earumque generatione." The edition I have here referred to is that of Venice, 1488.

³ For the supposed origin of the term, see Halliwell's "Rara Mathematica," 1839, p. 73.

formulate rules of computation, and apply them to practical use. But still very few examples are given, and those of the most elementary kind.¹ The margin is the only field for actual processes by way of illustration; and hence but little scope is afforded. Music, being chiefly treated as a branch of arithmetic,² would share the development of that science; and so we find Jacobus Faber an authority upon it as well. Geometry, having the advantage of Euclid for a text-book, fared better than some of her sister sciences. A year or so before Colet went to Oxford, there had been printed at Venice the handsome edition of Erhard Ratdolt, with the proofs of the propositions in full, and well-drawn figures in the margin.³ Books of the Enunciations alone were to be got, as now, by the year 1507;⁴ but how much earlier I am not able to say.

¹ An instance may be taken from a "Compendiosa Introductio" by Faber of Étapes above mentioned, prefixed to a Boethian Arithmetic of 1503. Simple multiplication is only reached by the 41st leaf out of 48, and the rule and its example are of the following primitive kind:—

$$\begin{array}{r}
 36 \\
 \hline
 24 \\
 \hline
 144 \\
 \hline
 72 \\
 \hline
 864
 \end{array}$$

"Sit numerus 36 multiplicandus per 24. Duco 4 (quæ prima est multiplicantis figura) in 6, et fit 24," &c. The best work on arithmetic for many years, in De Morgan's opinion, was that of Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, published in 1522.

² "A tract on music," says De Morgan, "was in those days little but a tract on fractions under musical names."—"Arith. Books," p. 10. So in a "Textus arithmetice communis," by Conradus Noricus (1503), one chapter is headed "De proportionibus et medietatibus ad Musicam spectantibus."

³ The editor refers to the difficulty of executing the "schemata," or figures, as the cause why editions had not sooner appeared at Venice. The date is 1482. Ratdolt claims for his own subject that all the other sciences were helpless without it:—"ceteras scientias sine mathematibus imperfectas ac veluti mancas esse." On the other hand, a writer on logic, Chunrad Pschlacher, in his "Compendarius Parvorum Logicalium" (1512), claims for his own study that "Dialectica est ars artium, scientia scientiarum, ad omnia methodorum principia viam habens."

⁴ Henri Étienne published such a one in the above year, appended to

Without going into more details, the reader will now be able to understand better what the words of Erasmus, respecting Colet's studies, were intended to convey:—"During his younger days, in England, he diligently mastered all the philosophy of the schools, and gained the title expressive of a knowledge of the seven liberal arts. Of these arts there was not one in which he had not been industriously and successfully trained. For he had both eagerly devoured the works of Cicero, and diligently searched into those of Plato and Plotinus; while there was no branch of mathematics that he left untouched."¹ By the "philosophy of the schools" is meant the three philosophies, natural, moral, and metaphysical, prescribed above in succession to the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, which together constituted the "seven liberal arts." For these philosophies Aristotle was the sole text-book named in the ordinances. What the various branches of mathematics would amount to, has been partly indicated. Most of Cicero's works would be easily accessible before 1490. Plato and Plotinus may be taken as representing what Colet read to gratify his own inclination, rather than what was directed by academic enactments. And this forms the most interesting feature in Erasmus's too brief description of his friend's University course. It was probably to the translations of Ficino that Colet owed his introduction to the writings of both Plato and Plotinus.² At any rate, he quotes both these writers by name in his "Lectures on the Romans;"³ and it may well have been that his desire for foreign travel was prompted in part by the hope of learning more directly from Ficino, and other

an edition of the "Textus de Sphæra" of Johannes de Sacrobosco. It goes no further than the first four books, and omits some of the propositions now included.

¹ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 21.

² In 1491 appeared at Venice "Platonis opera omnia, latine, ex versione Marsilii Ficini." According to Brunet, an earlier edition still had been printed at Florence, without date, but said to have been begun in 1483. The first edition of Ficino's version of Plotinus was printed at Florence in 1492.

³ P. 16, and p. 74.

leaders of Italian thought, what was to be gathered in this new and more attractive philosophy. "After this," is the short statement of Erasmus, "like a merchant seeking goodly wares, he visited France, and then Italy." With this slight indication of his route, we must track his steps as best we can.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN TRAVEL.

Journey through France and Italy—Other English travellers—Possible routes.—Florence.—The Platonic Academy.—Savonarola and Ficino.—The Papal Court.—Preparation for the work of preaching.

IF the records of Colet's life at school and college have appeared slight, and the inferences based upon them conjectural, this holds good still more markedly of his travels on the continent. All that is known for certain of him, between the time of his leaving England, somewhere about the year 1493, and his return to London, probably in the spring of 1496, might be summed up in a single sentence. "After this," says Erasmus, in the passage quoted at the end of the last chapter, "like a merchant seeking goodly wares, he visited France and then Italy." "He studied for a long time," writes Archbishop Parker, "in foreign universities."¹ One point on the route at which he is known to have stayed some time (but whether going or returning is uncertain) was Orleans.² Another was Paris, which he visited on his return,³ and probably on his outward journey as well. The reader may feel a conviction that he could not have travelled in Italy, under such circumstances, without seeing Rome and Florence; but, strange to say, there is no direct evidence that he was at either

¹ "Hic Coletus in transmarinis Academiis diu studuit."—"Antiquitates" (1605), p. 306. Parker would probably hear particulars of Colet from Tunstall, Bishop of London (himself a Doctor of Laws of Padua), when residing in his charge.

² See the letter of Francis Deloigne to Erasmus (Erasmi "Epist.," 1642, p. 54), in which he expresses his pleasure at Colet having recalled the time which they spent in study together at Orleans.

³ Colet to Erasmus ("Epist.," *ib.*, p. 309), dated Oxford, 1497.

of these cities.¹ Beyond that, all is matter of surmise. Whether, having crossed the Alps, he went straight on through Milan and Parma and Modena to Bologna, thence crossing the Apennines to Florence; or whether he turned to the left and visited Padua and Venice, is a mere balancing of probabilities.

If we observe the course taken by other scholars of that period, when leaving England for travel abroad, we can, at any rate, arrive at a probable itinerary, and also form some notion of the objects aimed at in their foreign tours. One such was William Tilly, or de Selling, who was elected prior of Christchurch convent, Canterbury, in 1472, and died in 1495. This learned and liberal-minded man, and benefactor to his fraternity, fixed his residence for a time at Bologna, about 1485, and there enjoyed the society and tuition in Greek of Politian.² Selling's own pupil, Linacre, the founder of the College of Physicians, who left England some ten years before Colet, visited Bologna on his way to Florence, and, after a stay of twelve months in that city, during which he shared the studies of the sons of Lorenzo de' Medici, went on to Rome. On his return journey he visited Venice, Padua, Vicenza, and Verona; and, pursuing his course through Brescia and Milan, crossed the Rhone into the Cevennes district, and so homeward by way of Paris and Calais to England.³ His whole stay in Italy amounted to two years.

William Grocyn, who started about three years later than Linacre, and whose stay in Italy was probably between the years 1488 and 1491,⁴ appears to have made Florence his head-quarters, studying Greek there under Chalcondyles and Politian. Lily, Grocyn's godson, and afterwards the first High

¹ The late Dean Hook ("Lives of the Archbishops," vi., p. 285) settled the point very easily:—"He (Colet) was at Rome, and there he probably met with Grocyn and Linacre, with William Lilly, who had lately arrived from Rhodes, and they all went to Padua, where William Latimer was perfecting himself in Greek." Grocyn and Linacre had probably both returned to England before Colet set out.

² Johnson, "Life of Linacre," pp. 6, 103.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 103, 141-6.

⁴ In the Lent term of 1491 he was in residence at Exeter College, where he taught Greek. See Boase, "Register," &c., *ubi sup.*, p. 27.

Master of St. Paul's, stayed at Rome on his way back from Palestine, and perfected, under the instructions of Sulpicius and Pomponius Sabinus, the knowledge of Greek which he had acquired among the Greek refugees in Rhodes.¹ William Latimer, the modest, retiring scholar, whose ability seemed afterwards buried in a Gloucestershire parsonage, chose Padua as his resort when studying Greek. Lastly, to take but one example more, when Erasmus attained his long-cherished desire of visiting Italy, in 1506, he went by way of Paris, after crossing over from Dover to Calais; and so on across the Alps to Turin, Venice, Bologna, and Rome.² He was led to Turin by the special object of receiving a doctor's degree, and to Venice by the desire of seeing Aldus Manutius. Hence, setting aside these cities at the east and west of the Peninsula as possessing an attraction of a personal nature for him, we find that in this case also the route taken was much the same as in the majority of instances mentioned. We may thus, not unfairly, conclude that Colet, besides his recorded stay at Paris and Orleans, would visit Bologna and Florence on his way to Rome.

The objects which a young student from western Europe would have in view in travelling to Italy are not far to seek. The universities north of the Alps were, in Colet's time, far behind those in the Peninsula. Not to speak of the munificent patrons of literature found in the Medici family, it was in Italy that the exiles from Constantinople had met with an asylum, and there the Greek learning they brought with them struck root and flourished again. And so it came to pass that, while no entire Greek work issued from the Parisian press till 1507, and none from the remoter English till 1543, that of Milan had produced the Greek grammar of Constantine Lascaris in 1476.³ But, more than that, it was an age when attain-

¹ Johnson, *ubi sup.*, p. 151. The date of his stay in Rome cannot be accurately fixed.

² Drummond, "Erasmus," i., pp. 158, 165.

³ Greswell, "View of the early Parisian Greek Press," i., pp. 16, 142. To Milan belongs the glory of having printed the first complete Greek work, the Grammar of Lascaris, 1476; the first edition of a Greek

ments in literature, and especially the command of a scholarly Latin style, formed a ready passport to high positions in church or state ; when a Bembo or a Sadoleti might look to be made a cardinal or an ambassador.¹ Hence it might be thought a wise and proper step for the son of a Lord Mayor to complete his education abroad, Later on, indeed, the objections to such a course for young men of family or wealth grew more and more apparent, till the *Inglese Italianato* became a by-word.² But at this period such an experience had not been gained.

Still, in case of one who showed such zeal for learning as Colet, the desire of getting near the fountain-heads of knowledge would be a motive amply sufficient. The great universities were not then so self-complete as now. In most cases each had a special reputation, Paris for theology, Bologna for law, Salerno for medicine, and the like. Learned men, moreover, were tempted to a migratory life as professors, by the varying inducements held out to attract them. Thus Tissard, after studying humanity and philosophy at Paris, removed to Orleans, and thence came back to superintend the productions of the Greek press at Paris. Chevillier, who is found there, about 1508, lecturing on Greek authors in the morning and on Cicero in the evening, removed to Orleans after 1512.³ Beroaldus lectured first at Parma, then at Paris, where he gained a numerous audience ; and, having thus risen in estimation, was invited in the most flattering terms to his native city of Bologna.⁴ Chalcondyles taught Greek first at Florence, but afterwards retired to Milan. Examples might be multiplied to any extent. And as the teachers thus moved about, so, to

classic, the Fables of Æsop, c. 1480 ; and the first entire portion of the Greek Bible, the "Liber Psalmorum," 1481. All three may be seen under the same show-case at the British Museum.

¹ Wotton, "Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning" (1705), p. 384. Compare also Burscher's "Spicilegia," i., p. xvii.

² See Ascham's "Scholemaster" (ed. Mayor), pp. xviii., 68 ; and the references given by Mayor at p. 222.

³ Greswell, *ubi sup.*, i., pp. 16, 21.

⁴ W. P. Greswell, "Memoirs of Politian, &c.," p. 213.

a still more noticeable degree, did the scholars. Hector Boethius, of Dundee, was studying at Paris just about the time that Colet returned to England. Erasmus met him there in 1497. Twenty years later his countryman, George Buchanan, was there also. Another Scotsman, John Major, studied successively at Cambridge, at St. Andrew's, and in Paris.¹ As he was nearly of the same age as Colet, the acquaintance between them, which led to Major's lecturing on St. Paul's Epistles in St. Paul's Cathedral, in 1508, at the dean's request,² may have been formed in Paris. Budé began his education at Paris, and continued it at Orleans. Vives studied both at Paris and Louvain. Pico of Mirandola spent seven years in resorting to different universities.³ Among the six hundred⁴ auditors of Beroaldus at Bologna were some countrymen of our own; of one of whom the learned professor has left a brief but affectionate record, preserving, unfortunately, only his Christian name of William. Modern travellers inform us that "the tombs of several illustrious Englishmen are still to be seen in the Dominican convent at Bologna, who died whilst pursuing their studies in that city, in the reign of Henry VII."⁵

Whether Colet was one of the young Englishmen attending the lectures of Beroaldus cannot now be discovered; and we cannot but regret the reticence as to his own past life displayed in such writings of his as we possess. That he should repair to the University of Paris would have been a thing to be ex-

¹ Greswell, "Parisian Greek Press," i., p. 31.

² "Historia Regis Henrici Septimi a Bernardo Andrea," &c., ed. by Gairdner (1858), p. 105. The date 1580 is a slip of the press for 1508. Other accounts of Major say that he was at Oxford as well as the universities mentioned in the text; and it may have been there, rather than in Paris, that the acquaintance began.

³ W. P. Greswell, "Memoirs," &c., p. 157.

⁴ We might suppose that by the "*scholastici sexcenti*," of Beroaldus's letter to Politian was meant simply an indefinitely large number, according to a well-known idiom. But Politian himself is stated to have had more than five hundred disciples at Florence.—*Ib.*, p. 31.

⁵ Guthrie's "Travels through Greece and Italy," ii., p. 186, quoted by W. P. Greswell, as above, p. 216.

pected, even if we had not had express testimony to that effect; for Paris was then the home of theology and philosophy. His familiarity with canon law, shown in the sermon before Convocation, and elsewhere, would have made it probable that he should resort to Bologna, or (as we are informed that he did) to Orleans, in each of which cities there was a famous school of law;¹ while his acquaintance with the writings of Pico and Ficino forms a connecting link with Florence. Still, it would have been gratifying to have had even a few reminiscences of his student life from Colet himself; to have been told what scholars he met with in Paris; to have had some record of his feelings as he stood on the old bridge over the Loire at Orleans, and gazed on the memorials of *la Pucelle*; to have known for certain whether he ever listened at Bologna to the lectures of Beroaldus, or the less edifying disquisitions of Codrus Urceus.

If his steps were really turned to Florence, it would not be to seek yet another university, but to visit the famous city, which even at that time had ninety thousand inhabitants; to learn something of its Platonic academy; and to enjoy the society of its great men. In this last respect, indeed, he would be doomed to a great disappointment. Politian died, at the early age of forty-one, in September, 1494. Pico died

¹ Of the five faculties recognized at Bologna, one was for canon law and one for civil. As far back as the history of Bologna can be traced, it was a school of jurisprudence. The "artists" did not form a corporation till 1316, and a school of theology was not added till the latter end of the same century. At Orleans, in 1512, there were five professors of civil, and three of canon law. The University of Paris, as such, had no public buildings, its meetings being held in the convents of friendly orders. Its distinguishing feature was its system of colleges, meant at first for poor students supported by foundations. At Paris the university corporation consisted of the professors only, the students having no voice or authority. At Bologna, on the other hand, the students formed the corporation, and to their elected officers the professors were subject. See Kirkpatrick's "Historically received conception of the University" (1857), p. 232; and an article in the "American Journal of Education" (1871), p. 274; both based on Savigny, "Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter," t. iii.

in the following November, on the very day on which Charles VIII. entered Florence. It is not probable that Colet would reach that city, supposing that he did visit it, before 1495. Still, what an array of illustrious names was to be found there !

“ And when I think that Michael Angelo
Hath leaned on me, I glory in myself,”

is the utterance ascribed by the poet to the Ponte Vecchio at Florence. Yet Michael Angelo was but a single star in the galaxy of intellect. Leonardo da Vinci, who died in the same year as Colet, was also a native of that wonderful city ; so was Fra Bartolommeo, whose pencil was even then adorning the walls of San Marco ; so was Brunelleschi, who, fifty years before, had crowned the cathedral with the famous dome that made it tower above St. Peter's. Raffaele of Urbino—but a boy as yet—had not begun to tread the streets of Florence, but Bramante might often be seen there. Nor was art alone represented. Side by side with memories of Cimabue, and his pupil Giotto, would come the memories of Dante and Boccaccio. The future historian, Guicciardini, like the future artist, Raffaele, was still a schoolboy ; but Machiavelli was in Florence, and Colet may often have passed the man, slightly his own junior, whose name was to become a byword in politics. Another Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci—soon to give his name to a continent—belongs to the same epoch, though at the time we refer to he was abroad on some of his many voyages. Did ever city claim such a band of distinguished citizens ! More important, perhaps, than all, in their influence upon Colet, there was Ficino, and there was Savonarola.

Whether or not Colet was ever at Florence, there is little evidence, in all that is recorded of him, to show that he received any impression from Italian art. Even to poetry, as poetry, he appears to have been indifferent.¹ But to the

¹ This made the invectives of Colet's enemies more amusing, when they declaimed against him as a *poet* (because in his newly-founded school the Classic poets were taught), seeing that he himself, as Erasmus words it,

Platonism of Ficino he was confessedly indebted ;¹ and though he never quotes or distinctly refers to Savonarola, there are such points of resemblance between their character and teaching, as to make it natural to think that Colet must have come under the influence of the great Florentine reformer, either as a listener or as a reader of his works.²

As the teaching of Ficino has been sometimes represented as all but wholly pagan, or non-Christian, till his conversion by Savonarola, it may be worth while briefly to inquire how far this is correct. It will then be possible to estimate more justly what Colet owed to each of them.

The founding of the Platonic academy at Florence,³ over which Cosmo de' Medici appointed Ficino to preside, has been assumed to have had its origin in a feeling of despair of the Christian religion, or, at least, of profound dissatisfaction with it. "The condition of the Christian Church at this period was so corrupt," says a modern writer,⁴ "and the severance of what was called religion from morality so signal, that this disposition of Cosmo, Ficino, and others, to betake themselves to the fanciful theories of Plato, instead of to the cross of Christ, for comfort, was probably a consequence

was "a poeticis numeris alienissimus," though not unskilled in music.—*"Lives of Vitrier and Colet,"* p. 42.

¹ In one of his own expositions he introduces a long extract from the "Theologia Platonica," and asks indulgence for changing the exact words of Ficino, "than whose language there can be nothing finer in philosophy."—"Lectures on Romans," 1873, p. 32.

² In Erasmus's "Letter to Justus Jonas," Colet is said to have told the writer that "among the Italians he had discovered some monks of true wisdom and piety." It seems not unreasonable to refer this, as Mr. Seebohm does, to the community of San Marco. But the best evidence will be the resemblances to be afterwards pointed out between Colet's expressed opinions and those of Savonarola.

³ It was dissolved in 1521, on the ground of some of its members being implicated in a plot against the life of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. The gardens where it had its habitation still exist, under the name of Orti Oricellari, at the end of the Via Larga. See Harford's "Life of Michael Angelo," 1857, i., p. 61 ; Villari's "History of Savonarola" (translated by Horner), i., p. 57.

⁴ Harford, *ubi sup.*, p. 64.

of latent infidelity, engendered by that corruption." It is added, on the authority of Spondanus, that, "under the preaching and influence of the celebrated monk Savonarola, Ficino became in his latter days a humble and devout learner in the school of Christ; and he himself tells us, in one of his epistles, that, on occasion of a severe illness, he found there was more comfort to be derived from a single sentence of the New Testament than from all the dogmas of the whole tribe of philosophers."¹ Now, without any wish to detract from the greatness of Savonarola's work, a simple comparison of dates will force us to limit the above statements considerably. Savonarola was recalled to Florence in 1490.² After preaching in the church of his convent to crowds, ever growing greater and greater, he removed in the following Lent to the great Duomo itself; and from that time forward, till his death in 1498, he became the most powerful man in Florence. His first sermons in the cathedral were in the Lent of 1491. But, as far back as 1478, Ficino had written in terms like these to a friend on the subject of his newly-published "*De religione Christiana*":—

"If you discover anything praiseworthy in the book, praise God, without whose gift nothing is truly to be praised. If it chance that aught displease you, let not Religion herself on that account please you the less. Measure not the loftiness of things divine by the lowness of my poor intellect; for the Divine depends not on the human, but the human on the Divine."³ This does not sound like the language of one

¹ Harford, *ubi sup.*, p. 70. The authority referred to by Harford (Spondanus, the continuator of Baronius) only partially bears out these strong statements. He mentions Ficino as one of the many whom Savonarola "*ad meliorem vitæ frugem reducere non cessaret.*"—"Annalium . . . Continuatio" (1647), ii., p. 230. Schelhorn, "*Amœnitates Literariæ*," i., p. 73, goes further; but he only relies on our own Henry Wharton.

² Villari, as above, i., p. 85. His previous ministry in Florence, in the church of San Lorenzo, in 1483, need not be taken into account; for, as Villari says, "there never were more than five-and-twenty persons to listen to him." His real power in Florence did not begin till 1490.

³ Corsius, "*Marsilii Ficini Vita*" (re-edited by Galletti, 1848), p. 201. The passage translated above is in a MS. letter of Ficino to Hieronymus

who was a stranger to true religion. But, more than that, his pupil and biographer, Corsius, has left on record both the time and the occasion of a serious change in Ficino's life. It was after a period of mental depression and suffering, he tells us,¹ when the great scholar had tried in vain to divert his mind by lighter efforts in the field of *belles lettres*, that he became convinced that his unhappiness was a chastisement sent from God "for having deserted the Christian camp." This so worked upon him, he adds, that he gave a Christian tone to his *magnum opus*, the "Theologia Platonica," and completed it by a supplementary work on the "Religio Christiana." "Having, by means of these studies," the account continues, "obtained quiet and consolation, he banished far away all that bitterness of heart; and, by the time he was forty-two years of age, had from a pagan become a soldier of Christ." As Ficino was born in 1433, this would bring us to 1475, a date long before the influence of Savonarola at Florence began. No doubt there are many strange and fantastic theories to be found in the writings of Ficino. He may have "not blushed to make Socrates a type of our Saviour,"² and may have affirmed that "the philosophy of Plato ought to be read, as sacred, in our religious rites, and taught in our churches."³ Still, there have been more people than the interlocutor in Erasmus's "Convivium religiosum," who have felt tempted to say, "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis;" and we may almost add, that the philosophy of Plato has been taught in our churches by Henry More, Cudworth, and John Smith of Queens'. One who, in that infancy of Greek learning in Europe, translated, in the compass of his life of sixty-

Rossius, inserted in a copy of the work referred to, preserved in the Library of St. Mark. The Convent of San Marco is now, as I am informed, the Museo Fiorentino di S. Marco, and one of the show places of Florence.

¹ Corsius, "Marsilii Ficini Vita," p. 188. For a more detailed examination of the influence of Savonarola on Ficino and Mirandola, the writer may be allowed to refer to the Introduction to Colet's "Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius" (1869), pp. xxv.-xxx.

² Schelhorn, "Amœnitates Literariæ," i., p. 84.

³ *Ib.*, p. 86.

six years, the works of Plato, Plotinus, and Dionysius the Areopagite, besides accomplishing a vast amount of other literary work, may well be pardoned for having become at times "bewildered in the mazes of that philosophy." The wonder is how the mind of a man, grappling single-handed with such labours as those, could keep its balance at all.¹

What impressions Colet may himself have received from Ficino and Savonarola, whether personally or through their writings, will be best studied when we come to speak of his own teaching in Oxford and at St. Paul's. To speculate more in detail on the influence of Florentine scholars upon the young English traveller, or to attempt to follow his course on to Rome, would be to plunge deeper and deeper into the region of conjecture. He might have enjoyed the society of Hermolaus Barbarus and Pomponius Lætus at Rome, just as he *might* have seen the learned Alessandra Scala act the Electra of Sophocles at Florence; but it is impossible to say that he did. Of one thing, at any rate, he could not but have ample evidence, wherever his steps were directed in Italy between 1494 and 1497. That was, the mischief done to true religion by the conduct of the occupant of the papal chair. Bad as was the nepotism of Sixtus IV., men had soon wished for him back again after an experience of his successor, Innocent VIII.; and now, since 1492, the crimes of Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) had been such as to make even Innocent VIII. look exemplary by comparison. No wonder Baptista Mantuanus should write:—

"Vivere qui cupitis sancte, discedite Roma :
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum."

It would be a thankless and uncalled-for task to enlarge here on the subject of Alexander VI. It was necessary to revert briefly to the condition of the papacy about 1495, in order to understand the impressions with which Colet would be likely to return to his native country; impressions of which there is

¹ The life of Ficino, though it fell short of threescore years and ten, was a prolonged one compared with that of many scholars of his time. Politian died in his forty-first year, Pico della Mirandola in his thirty-third.

a trace in his language about the bishop's office in his comments on the "Hierarchies of Dionysius."¹ That he should have come back to England with a mind sceptical or indifferent about religion would have been little surprising. That he should have come back tinctured only with the classical frivolities of the Renaissance, would have been still less so. It would have been easy for the son of an English Lord Mayor to catch the prevalent tone of opinion in Italy on political justice or ecclesiastical morality; to accept the doctrine that "though it is useful to persevere in the path of rectitude while there is no inconvenience, we should deviate from it at once if circumstances so advise;" to catch the art, with Bembo, of expressing the Christian mysteries in Ciceronian phrase; to become an adept in the licentious school of Poggio or of Codrus Urceus.² That Colet did not become imbued with the culture of the Italian humanists, such as we see it reflected in the pages of Mr. Symonds, may have been due, under the grace of God, to various causes. It may have been through the influence of Savonarola; it may have been from a revulsion of spirit, disgusted with the pseudo-Christianity of the day; or it may have been owing to his natural seriousness of disposition, and to the teaching of his excellent parents. However it was, his choice seems to have been early made, and never departed from. "While there," says Erasmus, referring to his

¹ "Hence may we see how high, how exalted, how wholly conversant in heaven the Bishop should be; he especially who is the highest, whom we call the Pope," &c.—"Ecclesiastical Hierarchy," pp. 150-152.

² Some of the anecdotes with which Codrus Urceus interlards his "Sermones" are so depraved, that one marvels how they could have been listened to even in that age and country. And yet his editor, Philippus Beroaldus, dedicates the work (1502) to a member of the Bentivogli family, who was Protonotary Apostolic, and expresses his confidence that this "sacer antistes" will read the "Sermones" with the same pleasure with which they both had listened to them in the author's lifetime. For Bembo and the Ciceronians, see Erasmus, "Apologia refellens suspiciones," &c., 1519, p. 16; "Ciceronianus" (ed. 1643), pp. 108, sqq.; and Kurtz, "Hist. of the Christian Church" (1868), i., p. 503. Erasmus calls Codrus, "homo non dissentiens ab Epicuro." For the Machiavellianism in Italy before the publication of the "Prince" (1513), see Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," 1875, ii., p. 140.

stay in France and Italy, "he devoted himself entirely to the study of the sacred writers. He had previously, however, roamed with great zest through literature of every kind; finding most pleasure in the early writers, Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome. I should add that, among the old authors, there was none to whom he was more unfavourable (?) than Augustine. At the same time he did not omit to read Scotus, and Thomas, and others of that stamp, if the occasion ever required it. He was also carefully versed in treatises of civil and canon law. In a word, there was no work containing either chronicles or enactments of our forefathers which he had not perused. The English nation has poets who have done among their own countrymen what Dante and Petrarch have done in Italy. And by the study of their writings he perfected his style; preparing himself, even at this date, for preaching the Gospel."¹

Allowance must be made for the narrow compass of a letter. Still we should have been grateful to Erasmus if, in thus writing to Justus Jonas, he had been a little more explicit. He plainly groups together the work of a greater number of years than those spent in France and Italy. Supposing Gower and Chaucer to be meant by the allusion to poets like Dante and Petrarch, we can hardly suppose that Colet would have spent his time in Italy reading them, when he could have done so more conveniently at home.² At any rate, over whatever

¹ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 21. The meaning of Erasmus's expression in reference to Augustine ("atque inter veteres nulli iniquior quam Augustino") is there discussed. The difficulty is that while the word *iniquior*, judging from Erasmus's use of it elsewhere in the same epistle, must mean "more unfavourable to," and not "more partial," or "inclined to," Colet, as a matter of fact, quotes Augustine oftener than any other Father, nowhere with disapproval, and, more than once, with the addition of a "præclare dicit." See also the "Letters to Radulphus," *Intro.*, p. xlvi.

² It is interesting to think of Colet reading the description of the "poure Personne of a toun," which in many respects was, by anticipation, a portrait of himself. It may well have been that from it one favourite saying of his was derived. "Doctor Collet, the Dean of St. Paul's," writes a distinguished pupil of his school, "said that if the Clergy were nought,

period these studies are to be distributed, one thing is clear : neither the attractions of art, nor the brilliance of Florentine society, nor the semi-paganism which attended the revival of letters in Italy, could divert our fellow-countryman from what he had evidently set before himself as the one great object of his life. He was "preparing himself, even at this date, for preaching the Gospel." And so, Erasmus adds, "soon after his return from Italy, he left his father's house, as he preferred to reside at Oxford, and there he publicly and gratuitously expounded all St. Paul's Epistles." He had gone abroad, "like a merchant seeking goodly wares." He had found, or treasured safely as already found, the pearl of great price. And now, while men were still talking of the discoveries of Columbus, and just before Vasco de Gama set out on his almost equally memorable voyage to the Indies, Colet quietly took up his residence at Oxford, and, like another Columbus, preparing charts when he could not sail, began to trace out for his fellow-students the bearings of a *terra nuova* as unknown to some of them as the new land across the Atlantic.

the Laity were worse, for it could not otherwise be but the laymen must ever be one degree under the clergy."—Camden, "Remains" (1674), p. 357. With this compare :—

"And this figure he added yet therto,
That if gold ruste, what shuld iren do?
For if a preest be foule, on whom we trust,
No wonder is a lewed man to rust."

CHAPTER V.

LECTURES AT OXFORD.

Novelty of the proceeding.—Extant manuscripts of the Lectures.—Character of Colet's expositions.—Comparison with others of the same period.—Extracts from them.—Invectives against abuses.—Strained opinions on the study of Classical authors.—On celibacy.—Ideal hierarchy.—Opinions on controverted topics.—Genuine goodness of the writer.

HOW far the step taken by Colet, in lecturing at Oxford publicly and gratuitously upon St. Paul, was an irregular, or, at least, an unusual one, is not very easy to determine. By the time of his return in 1496, or possibly 1497,¹ he would have been of standing to "oppose in theology," or, as we should now express it, to take the degree of B.D. After doing so, it was not only permitted, but required, that the candidate for "inception in theology" (the degree of D.D.) should not only attend lectures in which the Bible was read *biblice* (that is, "chapter by chapter, with the accustomed glosses and such explanations as the reader could add"), but should also himself lecture on some book of the sacred canon.²

¹ Seebohm, "Oxford Reformers," p. 1, n., considers the Michaelmas Term of 1496 to be the most probable, chiefly on the ground that, in a letter of Erasmus, written in the winter of 1499-1500, Colet is spoken of as "jam triennium enarranti." But, of course, in the Latin form of expression, 1497-1499, might be readily counted as "three years."

² See the ordinances in Anstey's "Munimenta Academica," ii., p. 391. One of the manuscripts (B.) from which they are taken is dated 1477, so that the regulations were corrected to a date not far from Colet's time. Similar rules appear to have been in force at Cambridge. See Peacock's "Observations on the Statutes" (1841), p. xlvi.; from which also the explanation of *biblice* given above is taken. The common phrase, however, for being admitted *ad opponendum in theologia* (B.D.), namely, *ad legendum quatuor libros sententiarum*, shows that the great subject of ordinary divinity lectures was Peter Lombard.

But then Erasmus expressly tells us that at this period Colet "had neither obtained nor sought for any degree in Divinity."¹

Whether we are to suppose Erasmus mistaken in this statement, or whether Colet was really out of order in his New Testament Lectures, is a choice of difficulties. It is hardly likely that Erasmus would err in a simple fact of that kind. On the other hand, it is not at all likely that Colet, with his strong love of order, would begin by doing anything irregular. Nor, while it is mentioned that he had a great concourse of hearers, including abbots and heads of houses, is there any hint conveyed to us that the proceeding was censured or interfered with, as something contrary to rules.

Perhaps the truth may be, that there was greater latitude allowed in the choice of subjects by regent masters of arts than we should suppose from the ancient ordinances. In an age when young Thomas More, just called to the bar, could begin lecturing on the "De Civitate Dei" in the church of St. Lawrence, Jewry, and Grocyn could lecture in St. Paul's on the writings of the Pseudo-Areopagite, more liberty of choice may have been allowed to teachers, academic or otherwise, than we should be inclined to suppose.

An important point to observe, is the statement that these lectures were delivered gratuitously. While there are many features of dissimilarity between our "taking degrees," as we term it, whether of bachelor or master, and the ancient admission to "determining" and "incepting," one fact stands out clearly: that the great reward to which a master of arts looked forward at his inception, was the privilege of himself lecturing in turn, and of receiving money for his lectures. At

¹ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 23. It is just possible that by "degree," *gradum*, Erasmus may have meant only that of Master or Doctor, not accounting the bachelorship, or admission *ad opponendum*, a degree. It would harmonize with this view, that he names Doctors in Divinity and Law, by contrast, as coming to hear him; and adds, just after, that "the title of Doctor was spontaneously offered him some time later, and accepted by him, though rather to oblige the offerers than because he sought it."

the present day a college tutor, as a rule, has a certain number of the undergraduates of his college assigned to him for his lectures. His fees will not depend on his popularity or unpopularity. But in Colet's time, the power of attracting scholars to his lectures would mean, for a new master of arts, or one of like standing in the other faculties, an income long desired, and much needed to cover heavy preliminary expenses. He would have had to secure a suitable room to lecture in ;¹ to provide himself with the necessary academic costume ; to pay heavy fees to bedels and others ; to feast all the regent masters, or pay a fine of twenty marks. Hence the eagerness with which a new inceptor would look forward to some return in the way of fees ; and hence the competition between rival lecturers, and the crowds we have before read of as attending, in foreign universities, the lectures of some popular professor.²

With this lowering of the teacher's office Colet had no sympathy. "He did not attach much value to the public schools," writes Erasmus, "on the ground that the race for professorships and fees spoilt everything, and adulterated the purity of all branches of learning."³ And his practice was in accordance with his principles. He took no fee for his lectures.

¹ Anstey, as above, i., p. xc.

² On this subject the remarks of Vives are instructive, "*De tradendis disciplinis*" (ed. 1636), p. 435. After speaking of the mischief of letting professors be chosen (as at Bologna) by the scholars, in which case not the ablest, but the most taking men were sure to be chosen, he goes on to protest against the system prevailing in some universities, of having two lectures going on in the same subject at the same hour. Such lecturers, he says, were called *concurrentes*, and goes on to add that it was often a veritable *concursus*, in which the lecturers assailed each other like rival actors on a stage. It is a little amusing to observe, after this, that it was through inability to compete with the attractions of Vives' own lectures at Oxford, that Lupset quitted the university for Italy. See Paulus Jovius, "*Elogia*" (1561), p. 94.

³ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 37. The reader need hardly be reminded that by "public schools" Erasmus means the university schools, and not what we commonly now express by that name.

What the nature of those lectures was, we must now proceed to inquire.

By a singular accident, the university which has preserved the extant manuscripts of the lectures is not the one in which they were delivered. It is in the public library of the University of Cambridge, and in the libraries of Corpus Christi and Emmanuel Colleges that these manuscripts are to be found.¹

¹ The MS. in the University Library (Gg. iv. 26) is a paper 4to., containing 167 leaves. A pencilled note at the end, made by the late Mr. Bradshaw, Nov. 19th, 1863, states that the volume was from the Holdsworth Collection, 1649. This Holdsworth, I presume, was Dr. Richard Holdsworth of St. John's, Gresham Professor of Divinity, 1629, Master of Emmanuel, 1637, and afterwards Lady Margaret Professor. A good part of the volume is apparently in Colet's own handwriting. The contents are: (1) "In Epistolam ad Romanos," ff. 1-60, with "Oxonie" at the end; (2) a letter headed "Abhati Winchincumbensi," ff. 61-2; (3) "De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici," ff. 63-69; (4) "In Epistolam primam ad Corinthios," ff. 70-148; (5) "De Angelorum ordinibus," ff. 148-151; (6) "De Angelis celestique Hierarchia secundum Dionysium," ff. 152-165. The two remaining leaves are filled with detached notes. The MS. in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College (numbered cclv.), on vellum, contains two treatises, both fragmentary. The first, in the handwriting of Peter Meghen, is a transcript of another Exposition of "Romans," as far as ch. v., occupying pages 3-193; the second is the series of Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic account of the Creation, also incomplete, occupying pages 195-225. A marginal note by Archbishop Parker, stating that a title in red ink is by Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London, shows the descent of the MS. The Emmanuel College MS. (3. 3. 16) is a transcript by Peter Meghen of the first treatise mentioned above in Gg. iv. 26. There is also a MS. from the Gale Collection, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, on vellum, in a hand of Queen Elizabeth's time, containing (1) detached apophthegms, (2) short summaries of all the Pauline Epistles in order, and (3) a commentary on 1 Peter. This was thought by Dr. Thomas Gale to be Colet's; but it is very doubtful. See the Appendix to the "Lectures on Romans" (1873). Besides the above, there is preserved in the Library of St. Paul's School a beautifully written MS., on paper, containing, (1) "Super opera Dionysii," treatises on the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies of Dionysius; (2) "De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ." This MS. was presented to the school in 1759 by Robert Emmot, who entered as a scholar in 1753, and bears the autograph "Pe. ffanwood," probably the Peter Fanwood who is mentioned in Maskell's "Monumenta Ritualia" (ii., p. xxxvi.), as an owner of rare books in 1595.

Some are in the author's own handwriting ; others in that of the famous one-eyed scribe of Brabant, Peter Meghen, with corrections by Colet himself ; others again, like the St. Paul's School MS., are in an unknown hand.¹ While they form collectively a considerable amount of matter, and sufficiently disprove the assertion of Harding to Jewell, "As for John Colet, he hath never a word to shew, for he wrote no workes," it cannot be doubted that what has come down to us is but an insignificant portion of what Colet wrote.

A short description of the method pursued in the Lectures that have been preserved, along with a few extracts from them on topics of importance, will best enable the reader to form a notion of their nature and probable value.

While the term Lectures is a convenient one by which to describe these compositions, it is at the same time too vague to render further definition unnecessary.

The exposition of 1 Corinthians, and the first of the two on Romans,² may be most properly described by the term *enarratio* ; while the second, fragmentary, one on Romans is called by the author himself an *expositio literalis*. In the former,

¹ A noble specimen of Meghen's writing is the MS. numbered Dd. 7. 3 in the Cambridge University Library, being a transcript of an older Latin MS. of St. Matthew and St. Mark, made at Dean Colet's expense, and finished May 8th, 1509. It contains the portrait of Colet engraved at p. 223 of Knight's "Life." A good example of Colet's own handwriting may be seen in the Admission Book of Doctors' Commons, placed in the Lambeth Library in 1869. After the entry of his name, comes this note by himself : "Et ego quoque Jo. Colet polliceor me facturum quod alii faciunt, videlicet soluturum singulis quibusque annis venēdo Collegio doctorum vis. viiiid." When I showed the St. Paul's School MS. to the late Henry Bradshaw, the University Librarian of Cambridge, he had a strong impression that he knew the handwriting of it, and paused some moments to recollect. But, if the impression were correct, his strong memory for once failed to recall the sought-for clue.

² Both contained in the MS. Gg. iv. 26 before referred to. The second exposition of the Epistle to the Romans (chaps. i.-v.) is in the Parker MS. (ccclv.). The former was published separately in 1873 ; the latter, with the "Letters to Radulphus," &c., in 1876. For convenience of reference, the former is cited as "Lectures on the Romans," and the latter as an "Exposition of Romans," for the reason given in the text.

while the expounder follows in the main the order of the Epistle, or other work, on which he is commenting, he does not bind himself to keep to the sequence passage by passage. He may digress, or expatiate here and there at greater length. In the latter, he keeps closer to the text, explaining little more than the obvious difficulties of expression as he goes along. Of course the degree of closeness to which an expositor adheres may cause there to be very little difference between these two modes of explanation. Thus the "Enarrationes" of Dionysius Carthusianus¹ upon the Epistles are so brief and so strictly consecutive, that they might almost be brought under the head of *scholia*, or *glosses*. A single example will make this clear. In his exposition of Romans,² he thus begins what he has to say on the ninth chapter :—

"Seeing that in what went before the Apostle argued about the insufficiency of the Law, and the faults of the Jews, he now displays his own affection for them, lest he should be thought to have so spoken from hatred or contempt. His words are : *I say the truth in Christ Jesus*, that is, according to the rule and judgment of the truth of Christ ; and so, because my way of speaking is according to the good pleasure of Christ, and agreeable to the truth of Him who is the measure and cause and rule of universal truth, therefore *I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost* ; that is, my conscience having no remorse about any falsehood, and that too in the Holy Ghost, so that He is the witness of what I say. This is the Apostle's way of taking an oath. For an oath, when a reasonable cause arises or demands it, is not only lawful but even meritorious, being an act of the virtue named *latria*. This was set out more fully

¹ The name of this Carthusian was Dionysius Rykel, or De Leuwis, of Ruremonde, in Belgium. According to Trithemius, "De Scriptoribus," 1546, p. 337, he died in 1471. His expositions may thus be fairly compared, in respect of time, with Colet's.

² "In omnes Beati Pauli Epistolas commentaria," 1533, leaf 22. It will be observed that on the title-page they are called *commentaria*, but elsewhere *enarrationes*. The terms are strictly speaking not convertible. *Commentationes*, or *commentaria*, are hasty jottings or memoranda for notes. Such were Jerome's on St. Matthew, drawn up, as he tells us, in a fortnight. See, for the whole subject, Sixtus Senensis, "Bibliotheca," pp. 163, sqq.

above. The Apostle takes an oath because the Jews were hard of belief. Moreover, that they may believe him the more readily, seeing that what he says is strange and wonderful, yea, almost past belief, he swears—what then does he swear? *that I have great heaviness both in my higher and in my lower emotions, and continual sorrow in my heart*, that is, an unceasing affliction and compassion in my mind or soul; to wit, on account of the blindness of the Jews, as will appear."

From this extract, which it would be tedious to prolong, the reader will see on what principle such a commentary as that of Dionysius Carthusianus is constructed. Every clause of the sacred text is brought in in due order, with as much explanation inserted as seems to the writer to make the thought and connection clear.

In some parts, especially near the beginning, of the second, or *literal*, exposition of the Romans, Colet writes on a plan very similar to this. For instance, when commenting on Rom. i. 21, 22, his words are:—

"Rather should we lay the blame on man's idolatrous nature; *because that, when they knew God the Maker, by the things that are made, they glorified him not as God*, did not extol him, or render him glorious by worship and confession; *neither were thankful* for benefits received; *but became vain in their imaginations*, and fell away to vanity; *and their foolish heart was darkened*, by being deprived of the light of wisdom. For *professing themselves to be wise*, and to know God, *they became fools* really and in fact, under the obscuring influence of idolatry and the gloom of image-worship."

It is obvious that, if he adhered all through to this style of exposition, there would be but little difference between Colet and Dionysius Carthusianus. But he does not do so even in this *expositio literalis*, and much less so in the others. Only on the next page, for example, a passage occurs, giving us an interesting glimpse of some unknown scholar, for whose benefit the task was originally undertaken, and disclosing to us also the fine sense which Colet had of the "reverence due to boys." The occasion was the expositor's coming upon one of the darker shades with which the picture of heathen society in

the first chapter of the Romans is tinged. And at this, he says, he designedly shuts his eyes and passes it over, lest, by employing too unreserved language, he should shock the pure minds of some guileless ones. Such had been his course when expounding the passage orally to his "well-mannered young friend, Edmund, for whose instruction he undertook this literal exposition." Gathering, by a few tentative remarks, that his scholar had no suspicion of what the Apostle referred to, "I was so charmed," he adds, "by the youth's simplicity, that I checked myself at once, that he might not learn matters which it were better for him to be ignorant of than to know."

In what a contrast the English teacher here stands to lecturers of the Italian school like Codrus Urceus!

In the *Enarrationes*, as was said, namely, the first Lectures on Romans, and the Lectures on 1 Corinthians, Colet allows himself still freer scope. For instance, compare his way of beginning the commentary on Romans ix. with that cited from Dionysius Carthusianus above:—

"Hereupon the Apostle earnestly desires, yea, longs intensely, that the Jews also, even though they refused to be called, may at length, through divine grace, be reckoned among the number of the called, and of those who trust in God. This is what, of his great love towards them, he now longs for; yea, even on condition that, if only they be saved, he himself may be made *accursed*, and an offering and victim for them to be sacrificed for the propitiation of God. For this is the signification of the Greek word *anathema*; since the verb *anathematize*, as Baptista Mantuanus interprets it, denotes both to *execrate* and also to *devote* (that is, to assign and dedicate). Whence an *anathema*, as he also shows, is a victim over which one makes an oath; agreeably to what St. Jerome¹ writes to Algasia, saying that he observes the word *anathema* in Holy Scripture frequently to imply *a slaying*. For the sheep that were slain and sacrificed for the propitiation of God towards men, were thus made victims. Well then, St. Paul wished to be thus made a victim and oblation, that God might be rendered propitious to the Jews, with whom he was justly wroth."

¹ "Quod autem *anathema* interdum occisionem sonet, multis veteris instrumenti testimonii probari potest."—"Op.," iii., 54 (ed. 1546).

Whatever may be thought of the merit of the explanation, it is evident that an attempt is made to go back to original authorities, and also to quote the best modern information on the subject. Battisto Spagnuoli, called Mantuanus from the place of his birth, was a writer almost contemporary with Colet, dying but three years before him; and Colet might have met with him in Paris, where (according to Trittenheim) he was staying in 1494.

Colet does not, indeed, write the word *anathema* in Greek characters. The only passage in which, to my knowledge, he shows his acquaintance with Greek, so far as to write it, is in his exposition of 1 Corinthians viii., where he sets down in Greek characters the words for *grace*, *gift of grace*, and some others. Still we may see the influence of the revival of letters in the quotations he makes. He takes his authorities and his illustrations, not merely from the Fathers of the Church, but from classical authors and from contemporary scholars.¹

Sometimes his desire to get the best modern information, as it would then be thought, leads him into errors of etymology and the like that now seem almost amusing. Thus in one place he writes: ²—

“Although an interpreter of Scripture is not called upon to play the part of a grammarian, or examine words over minutely, yet, since my young friend Edmund, for whom I am dictating this, is studying literature along with his theological reading, I am willing to be the grammarian for him on this occasion, by explaining the meaning of the word *prævaricator*.³ And I shall do the same from time to time after-

¹ The following are quoted by Colet in his various treatises:—Aristeas, Aristotle, St. Augustine (six times, once with the addition of “*præclare dicit*”), Baptista Mantuanus, St. Chrysostom (three times), Cicero, Clemens Romanus, Dionysius (*passim*), Durandus, Ficino (once by name, once not named), St. Ignatius (twice), St. Jerome (five times), Ivo Carnotensis (twice), Lactantius, Leo I., Macrobius, Mirandola, Origen (seven times), Philo, Pilati Acta, Plato, “The Platonists,” Plotinus, Sixtus IV., Suetonius, Ulpian, Virgil. Besides these, he has undoubted references to other writers, without formally citing them, as in the etymology he gives of *prævaricatio*. The Convocation Sermon is not included in this list.

² “Exposition of Romans,” p. 81.

³ The word in the Vulgate of Rom. ii. 27, answering to *transgressor* in the English.

wards, as a fitting opportunity may suggest. Now *varicate*, or *prevaricate*, is a term derived from the large, swollen, distorted *varicose* veins, that some people have upon their legs. Since the cure of these is hazardous, physicians are wont to *trans-gress* them, that is, to pass them by. And hence it comes that to *prevaricate* means to *trans-gress*. Jurists use the word in another sense; applying the name *prevaricator* to one who is first on one side, then on the other, and who 'aids an opponent's case by betraying his own;' one who 'is in collusion with the accused, and discharges the office of accuser negligently, concealing proofs applicable to the case, and admitting false excuses.'"

This curious derivation of *prevaricate* was taken, to all appearance, from the "Cornucopiæ" of Perottus,¹ an author who had died less than twenty years before Colet wrote. To refer to him then, would be like a scholar's referring to one of the best standard dictionaries now.

But it is not in the region of "grammar" alone that these digressions are made—digressions which, if such were their only character, might well be thought more curious than instructive. Colet often expatiates on topics of interest in his own day. Like the Apostle whose writings he comments on, he is apt to be carried away from his immediate argument by some passing word or allusion. The thought of some abuse in church or state, suggested by a passing expression in the text before him, calls forth at times a passionate outburst of invective. Listen to what he says about the ecclesiastical courts:—

"How I wish that the ministers of ecclesiastical affairs, and those who call themselves expounders of pontifical law, would understand that, without the grace of Christ, they in vain administer laws for Christ's people. How I wish and wish again, that they would be ministers of grace to the common people, teaching them plainly and

¹ See the edition of 1496, leaf 236. Later on, Colet takes the derivation of *abolere*, "to make of none effect," word for word from Perottus: "to blot out and utterly efface, so that not even any scent (*odor*) of it is left behind." The derivation of *fides*, "*quia fit quod dictum est*," he takes apparently from Cicero.

gently, by precept and example, before so harshly and sternly smiting them in their ignorance with legal decisions. For the poor Christian folk who pay the penalties of the law, are made to feel its sanguinary force before they understand its meaning. But your doctors of the law—as they like to be called, though they are the last to *teach* the law—have no pleasure in instruction of that kind. This most honourable office they leave to kindly professors of divinity. Rather in sooth should they be called torturers¹ and tormentors of men. For all that they heed is, where they may punish with the law's scourges, and wound with its knife, so as to drain the golden blood of the laity. This they so eagerly thirst for, that one might suppose they held their title and profession—their title of lawyers and profession of jurisprudence—for no other purpose than this: namely, like bloodsuckers, to render men bloodless and penniless by never-ending pecuniary fines; themselves the meanwhile all swollen with thefts and robberies.

“Atrocious race of men! deadliest plague to the Church of Christ! very devils transformed into angels of light! in this respect worse than even the devils themselves, and more hurtful to Christian people; seeing that, on account of the position they falsely hold in the Church, none can openly despise them with safety; but everyone must put his neck beneath their sword—the sword of bad example, the sword of pecuniary fines and extortion. Oh, hardship beyond all hardships! when the poor folk that bear the name of Christ are in worse plight than the Jewish commonalty were under the hypocritical Pharisees.

“How much more justly and becomingly would the practitioners of our day be acting, these adepts in the law, these reciters of formulas and watchers for syllables,² ever spinning their toils, ensnaring the unwary, extorting moneys, heaping together riches—if they would forsake their craftiness and insatiable greed, and, mindful of Christ and of His Church, first learn what they are to teach, and then teach what they have learnt; if they would keep the law themselves before punishing transgressors; if they would make men understand the law, before they punish them for not being aware of it; if they would in-

¹ The point of the antithesis is lost in translation from the Latin: *tortores* for *doctores*.

² This is an evident reminiscence of Cic., “De Oratore,” i., 55: “*leguleius quidam cautus et acutus, præco actionum, cantor formularum, auceps syllabarum.*” Hence we might have expected *aucupantur*, rather than *observant*, in Colet's Latin.

cite others to follow them by being good and blameless observers of the law themselves, before so chastising men for not following, that you would think their punishment was for malice, not for ignorance. Aye, and in their rebukes they would be acting the part of worthy lawyers, did they but proceed with holy and clean hands, grieving that there should be any cause for punishment, and inflicting punishment at last only for that honourable end, to be desired of all men, the amending of our evil ways." ¹

I have given this passage unabridged, for one reason, because it ends the fragmentary "Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans." It is impossible to say whether, if we possessed the rest of the commentary, we should find that Colet had ended his denunciation with the words just quoted. But he has at any rate left enough on record to show that, so far as one man's testimony would go, he had anticipated by thirty years or more the petition of the Commons in 1529.² How real the grievances were of which people in England had then to complain in regard to ecclesiastical law, is a matter familiar to every student of English history. What the Court of Arches was for the archbishop, his own consistorial court was for each bishop. Beneath them, in widening ramification, were the courts of the several archdeacons. "We can then imagine," says Froude,³ "what England must have been, with an archdeacon's commissary sitting constantly in every town; exercising an undefined jurisdiction over general morality; and every court swarming with petty lawyers (the *leguleii* of Colet), who lived upon the fees which they could extract." "Such a system for the administration of justice," he adds, "was perhaps never tolerated before in any country." Still, bad as ecclesiastical law was in the reign of Henry VII., common law was at least no better. Lord Bacon tells us that he had himself seen an accompt-book of Empson's "that had the king's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing," in

¹ "Exposition of Romans," p. 162.

² For which see Froude, "Hist. of England," i., 191. In a similar spirit were conceived the "Centum gravamina" presented by the German Emperor in 1522, which are found in the "Fasciculus rerum expetendarum."

³ "History of England," *ib.*, p. 330.

which memoranda were kept of offences condoned for a money consideration.¹ That Colet should have inveighed so strongly against the corrupt administration of the spiritual courts rather than of the temporal, is a token both of his own courage and of his jealousy for the purity of the order to which he belonged.

To this jealousy for the good repute of the clergy we may refer some of the indignant outbursts met with now and again, as the contrast between the ideal and the actual strikes upon his mind. It is easy to trace the rise of this feeling in a passage where he is commenting upon the subject of the Holy Eucharist in the "Ecclesiastical Hierarchy" of Dionysius.² He has just referred to the custom of repeating the words of the Psalm, *I will wash mine hands in innocency*, at the beginning of the sacred rite. Then he continues :—

"And here let every priest observe, by that sacrament of washing, how clean, how scoured, how fresh he ought to be, who would handle the holy mysteries, and especially the sacrament of the Lord's body ; how such ought to be so washed and scoured, and polished inwardly, as that not so much as a shadow be left in the mind, whereby the incoming light might be in any wise obscured, and that not a trace of sin remain, to prevent God from walking in the temple of our mind. O priests ! O priesthood ! O the detestable boldness of wicked men in this our generation ! O the abominable impiety of those miserable priests, of whom this age of ours contains a great multitude, who fear not to rush from the bosom of some foul harlot into the temple of the church, to the altar of Christ, to the mysteries of God ! Abandoned creatures ! on whom the vengeance of God will one day fall the heavier, the more shamelessly they have intruded themselves on the divine office. O Jesu Christ ! wash for us, not our feet only, but our hands and our head."

¹ "History of King Henry VII.," Bacon's "Works" (1730), iii., p. 493. For more on this subject see the Introduction to the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians," p. xx., sqq.

² "On the Hierarchies of Dionysius," p. 90. Though there is no evidence to show that any part of the commentary on Dionysius was delivered orally, in the form of lectures, at Oxford or elsewhere, his treatment of the subject is so similar in many respects to that of the Pauline Epistles, that it seems fair to quote the above passages in this connection.



Two other matters seem to draw forth from Colet a special severity of rebuke when he is led to reflect on the state of the Church in his time. These are, the venality and corruption displayed in conferring holy orders, and the grasping spirit with which tithes and other ecclesiastical dues were exacted.

"Wherefore," he writes in one place,¹ "one may here express an abhorrence of the detestable custom, which has now, for a long time, been growing in the Church, and is at the present time deep rooted, almost to the destruction of the Christian commonwealth, whereby temporal princes, void of reason, and, under the name of Christians, open enemies and foes of God, blasphemers of Christ, overthrowers of His Church, not with humble and pious, but with proud and rash minds, not in consecrated and holy places, but in chambers and at banquets, appoint bishops to rule the Church of Christ; and those too (heinous crime!) men ignorant of all that is sacred, skilled in all that is profane; men to whom they have already shamelessly sold those very bishoprics.² Out upon this wicked generation! these abandoned principles! this madness of princes! this blindness and folly of ecclesiastics! a blindness whether more to be had in derision or wept over, I know not. All order is being overthrown; the flesh waxes wanton; the spirit is quenched; all things are distorted and foul. Unless Christ have pity on His Church, death, which is already at the door, will seize on all. For how shall that endure, which is being administered with destructive counsels and murderous hands?"

Again, when on the subject of St. Paul's condemnation of the litigious spirit shown by the Corinthian converts,³ he exclaims on the folly of "those misguided men who swarm in

¹ "Hierarchies," as above, p. 123.

² Sixtus IV., who died in 1484, is said by Roscoe to have begun the practice of openly selling benefices: "He was the first Roman Pontiff who openly exposed to sale the principal offices of the Church. But, not satisfied with the disposal of such as became vacant, he instituted new ones for the avowed purpose of selling them."—"Life of Lorenzo de' Medici" (Bohn's ed.), p. 219. But perhaps the allusion in "*temporal* princes" may rather be to Henry VII. himself, of whom it was asserted that "he made a profit of every office in his court, and received money for conferring bishopricks."—Stephens, "Introduction to De Lolme," i., p. 154.

³ "Lectures on 1 Corinthians," p. 39.

this age of ours, and among whom are some that least ought to be there, ecclesiastics, and even those of highest standing in the Church," who "are wont to plead that they are bound to defend the cause of God, the rights of the Church, the inheritance of Christ, the property of the priesthood ; and that they cannot neglect the defence of them without sin."

"What narrow-mindedness," he continues, "what lamentable blindness is this of theirs ! Here are they taking measures for the loss of everything ; not only of these secular matters, but those of eternal importance as well ; and yet, in the very process of losing them, they think they are acquiring, upholding, and preserving them. Had they not eyes duller than the very fishes,¹ these men must perceive, if only by the turn affairs are everywhere taking in the Church, what loss of religion, what diminution of authority, what neglect of Christ, what blaspheming of God, ensues from their disputes and litigations. Nay, they might see how the very things they call the Church's goods, which they imagine themselves to be keeping, or else recovering, by their lawsuits, are slipping away imperceptibly, little by little every day, and can with difficulty be retained. For they are trying to retain them by force, rather than by men's liberality and goodwill ; and nothing can be more unworthy of the Church than this."

Still more strongly does he lay down the same principle in his comment on Romans xiv. 17 :²—

"Now, what St. Paul says in this passage about meat and drink, that they neither are, nor constitute, the kingdom of God, may also be said with the greatest truth about money, possessions, tithes, oblations, and whatever else is of an earthly nature—I mean, that they are not the kingdom of God, nor do they constitute it. Hence the deplorable folly of those who imagine that Christian men, yea, even Churchmen, ought to strive about these matters, as if the Church of Christ consisted of them ; little knowing by what the Church has been begun or increased, or preserved ; little knowing, also, by what the Christian Church is shaken, disturbed, and overthrown. . . . I

¹ Aristotle, "De part. Anim.," ii., 14, speaks of insects, fishes, and crustacea, which are devoid of eyelids, as being provided by nature with eyes of such a tough outer membrane, that they might be said to see through a transparent eyelid.

² "Lectures on Romans," p. 118, sqq.

write not thus from an unwillingness that the Church should have possessions, or priests tithes and offerings, but in order that they should on no account contend about such matters. For the Church is not tithes and oblations, as men, for the most part of narrow and grovelling minds, are wont in their conversation rashly to assert. But, as St. Paul says, the Church and *Kingdom of God is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*. Wherefore priests and pastors of the Lord's flock ought rather to importune men to make tithes and offerings to God of *these* things above all others. For what has God to do with honey, cheese, corn, money, and sheep? Not that offerings of these are to be omitted. But they are not to be exacted by priests before everything else, as is often contentiously done. If you seek first those former things, these latter will follow of their own accord, and the more readily and plentifully the less desirous of them you may seem. . . . That ruler of the Church is foolish and mad, ignorant of Holy Writ, ignorant of Christ, ignorant of his own duty, who will contend with his parishioners about tithes and offerings—a shepherd contending with his sheep, a father with his sons, a minister of God with them that are sons of God and brothers to himself."

It may be thought that it was not altogether without reason that the charge of Lollardism was brought against Colet, as it was one of the subjects of petition made by Wyclif to the king and parliament, that tithes might be diverted to the maintenance of the poor, and the clergy maintained by the free alms of their flocks. But Colet went still farther than this. He even expressed approval, though briefly and guardedly, of a Christian communism. After comparing the law of grace with the law of nature, "not the law of simple, holy, and inviolate nature (for that state of innocence was in paradise alone), but of a defiled and corrupted nature," he goes on :—

"This law of a corrupter nature is the same as that Law of Nations, resorted to by nations all over the world; a law which brought in ideas of *meum* and *tuum*—of property, that is to say, and deprivation; ideas clean contrary to a good and unsophisticated nature, for that would have a community in all things."¹

¹ "Exposition of Romans," p. 134.

In this, as in many other points, we find the teaching of Colet echoed in the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More. As need hardly be said, the very groundwork on which the Utopian commonwealth rests is a community of goods. In this light the author himself refers to it near the end of the work. In like manner Colet's preference, embodied in a quotation from Cicero,¹ of even the most disadvantageous peace to the justest war, finds its counterpart in the "Utopia." Still more strikingly, after reading what Colet said above on the iniquity of laws and the administerers of laws, who punished people for ignorance of what they themselves should have taught them, do we find Hythlodæus concluding an impeachment of English customs at that period, with the assertion that we "first made thieves and then punished them."² In fact, the very maxim which Colet quotes from Cicero,³ *summum jus, summa injuria*, is put by Sir Thomas More into the mouth of Raphael, when, as they are seated at Cardinal Morton's table, the conversation of the company is made to turn on the severity with which thieves and other like offenders were brought to trial in this country.

Before passing from the subject of what may be thought the extreme opinions of Colet, we must notice two others, of which one at least will be unexpected. I mean his opinions about the study of classical authors, and about marriage. Whatever other views the founder of St. Paul's School may have held, the reader will hardly expect to hear from him any condemnation of classical studies. Yet, at one period of his life, at least, he entertained sentiments of this kind. In commenting on the passage in 1 Cor. x. 21, about being "partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils," after one of his pithy maxims, "such as are the pastures, such are the kine; and as a man feeds, so does he grow;" he continues,

¹ "Epp. ad Div.," vi., 6: "Quum vel iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello anteferram." Compare the "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 42.

² "Utopia" (Burnet's translation), 1753, p. 21.

³ "De Off.," i., 10. Compare the "Adagia" of Erasmus (ed. 1629), p. 619.

"If we seek to feed on the wisdom of the heathens, which is devilish,¹ not Christian, we lose the principles of our Lord." And then, dealing with the objection that without a knowledge of heathen literature we cannot understand the Scriptures, he proceeds :—

"Now if anyone should say, as is often said, that to read heathen authors is of assistance for the right understanding of Holy Writ, let them reflect whether the very fact of such reliance being placed upon them does not make them a chief obstacle to such understanding. For, in so acting, you distrust your power of understanding the Scriptures by grace alone, and prayer, and by the help of Christ, and of faith; but think you can do so through the means and assistance of heathens. To such men it might well be said that *the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God*; and that those devotees of Gentile books *cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils*. Those books alone ought to be read, in which there is a salutary flavour of Christ—in which Christ is set forth for us to feast upon. Those books in which Christ is not found are but a table of devils. Do not become readers of philosophers, companions of devils. In the choice and well-stored table of Holy Scripture all things are contained that belong to the truth. And doubt not that the mind which craves for anything to feed on beyond the truth, is in an unhealthy state, and is devoid of Christ. The truth, moreover, is understood by grace; grace is procured by our prayers being heard; our prayers are heard, when sharpened by devotion and strengthened by fasting. To have recourse to other means is mere infatuation."²

It cannot be denied that in this passage Colet does not appear at his best. Here, if anywhere, he borders on the narrow-minded and illiberal. Nor, though he doubtless modified, can it be said that he changed his opinions in this respect, when he became the founder of a great public school. It is a noticeable fact, that though, in his school statutes, he

¹ This is too strong a word for the original; but, as may be seen from the Revised Version of the passage referred to, it is difficult to find a better.

² "Lectures on Corinthians," p. 110.

desires in general terms that his scholars be taught such authors, both in Latin and Greek, as "hathe with wisdom joyned the pure chaste eloquence," yet, among the authors actually named, not one is what we should call a classical author. They are "Lactantius, Prudentius, and Proba, and Sedulius, and Juvenus, and Baptista Mantuanus, and suche other as shall be thought convenient and moste to purpose unto the true Latene speche." To be brief,¹ it would seem that Colet, like Wimpheling, would have had his scholars learn Ciceronian Latin, but from Lactantius rather than Tully; and Virgilian verse, but from Baptista Mantuanus, rather than from the great poet of Mantua himself.² And the reason may probably be found in the aversion with which Colet had come to regard the dilettante paganism of the Italian humanists.³ It was reserved for Erasmus to give utterance to the noble sentiment, that nothing ought to be called *profane* which is pious and conducive to good manners, and that the Spirit of Christ is perchance more widely diffused than we think.⁴

On the other subject referred to, that of marriage, Colet's opinions never wavered. From first to last he regarded it as only a concession to human infirmity.

"Therefore he dealt indulgently with the Corinthians," he says, speaking of St. Paul,⁵ "and took count of their weakness. He suffered each one, without grudging, to marry, and take to himself one wife in lawful wedlock, as a remedy for his passion, if he felt

¹ The question is discussed more fully in the Introduction to the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians," pp. xxxii., sqq.

² "Est et Baptista Mantuanus," says Wimpheling, "in quo nunc de cetero revera puer edoceri potest, quicquid ex Virgilio hactenus poterat adipisci."—"De vero litterarum sono" (1496?), leaf xx. verso.

³ Just as Wimpheling, after enumerating a list of authors similar to that of Colet, adds: "Nescio quo fato Itali quidam doctissimi suavius capiuntur fabulis quam historiis; gentiliū, quam Christianorum rebus et ceremoniis; nominibus gestisque deorum et dearum, quam Christi et divæ Mariæ; impudicitia et amore libidinoso, quam sanctimonia et caritate."—*Ib.*

⁴ The sentiment is put into the mouth of Eusebius, in the "Convivium Religiosum."

⁵ "Lectures on 1 Corinthians," p. 90.

that through weakness he could not live single; that he who could not abstain from all, might yet abstain from all but one; remembering that this one is allowed him, lest perchance his lustful propensities should break out into some more abominable outrage. And so, for the avoidance of evil, as far as possible, and for the preservation of all practicable good, he who cannot be in the first rank is mercifully allowed to stand in the second; and to have one wife if he cannot do without any. But beyond this step no further descent is permitted."

When the tacit objection occurs to his mind, that without marriage the human race could not have increased and multiplied, he replies :—

"It was useful, at its first beginning in days of old, for begetting offspring; that the world might be replenished by the manifold propagation of the human race. It contained also a sacramental principle, having respect to Christ and His bride the Church. . . . But now that the Bridegroom has come, and the truth of spiritual marriage is fulfilled, there is no longer any necessity for the married state to exist as a figure of that which was to come. Nor indeed is conjugal union required in Christendom for the increase of offspring; since our way of increase is not by generation, but by regeneration in God; *being born*, as St. John writes, *not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.*"

And when the further objection has to be met, that if this theory could be carried into effect the world must soon come to an end, he does not shrink from the logical conclusion :—

"If all that were called to the faith had remained single, there would still have always been a surplus from heathendom, to supply materials of grace to the Spirit of Christ;¹ and the Church would have been inwardly purer, and would have cleaved as a chaste bride to Christ her spouse.

"Now if you ask what would have been the result, supposing that the whole multitude of heathens had been converted to the worship of Christ; I answer that the result would then have been that, for

¹ Colet repeats this argument in his treatise "*De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ*," adding, somewhat caustically, that there was little fear of all heathendom turning Christian, seeing that even then, under the name of Christians, the majority of mankind were living as heathens.

the ultimate attainment of which our Saviour taught us to ask and pray daily,—even that the kingdom of God should come, and His will be done in earth as it is in heaven. . . . And, lastly, the result would then have been, that all mankind, holy alike in mind and body, would have come to an end in this state of sanctity, only to rise again at once to God, and live eternally.”

But it is time to turn from these examples of extreme opinions held by Colet—opinions which arrest the attention by their prominence rather than by their frequent repetition—to the more ordinary characteristics of his lectures.

Perhaps the most obvious feature in them, and that which would most readily strike the reader, is their Platonic or mystical cast of thought. The figures of speech employed, the terms, the metaphors, are not those which we are now accustomed to meet with in commentaries on St. Paul. It is a legal rather than a philosophical terminology that we have become used to, and, since the days of Calvin more especially, whose early legal training must have influenced his language, the commentaries of the Protestant churches have borrowed many terms which had their origin in courts of law.¹ But it was by Plotinus and the later Platonists, and, above all, by the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, that Colet's modes of thought were chiefly influenced. Whatever may have given this bent to his mind originally, it is plain that one who had eagerly read Plato and Plotinus at Oxford, and who had afterwards made acquaintance with the writings of Ficino and the elder Mirandola, would be naturally led on to Dionysius, and as naturally end with St. Paul.² It would manifestly be too long and intricate a task here, to attempt to

¹ See an article in the “Christian Observer,” Aug., 1873, p. 593.

² So it was with Ficino himself. In a letter to Germain de Ganay, Bishop of Orleans, dated 1494, he speaks of Dionysius as “the Areopagite, the highest of all the Platonists;” and Ficino has left an unfinished commentary on the “Romans.” In the British Museum (Harl. 4695) is a beautiful manuscript copy of this commentary, with the inscription at the end: “Le livre appartient à maistre Germain de Ganay.” For more on this subject see the Introduction to Colet's “Treatises on the Hierarchies,” pp. xv., sqq.

trace the links of connection, through Plotinus and Proclus, between Plato and the so-called Areopagite. It would seem, in brief, that the theory of emanations from the Divine Being, materialized and distorted by the successors of Plotinus, had been taken up by the writer of the "Hierarchies" and adapted to the divisions of the angelic host, as indicated by the various names for them in Holy Scripture. We thus have the *Celestial Hierarchy*, as seen by Dionysius, and by Milton after him, in ninefold array,

"Under their Hierarchs, in orders bright."

The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, in keeping with this, is a lower continuation of the Celestial. Throughout both alike ran the threefold and ninefold division. "As there were three degrees of attainment, Light, Purity, Knowledge (or the Divine Vision), so there were three Orders of the earthly Hierarchy, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; three sacraments, Baptism, the Eucharist, the Holy Chrism; three classes, the Baptized, the Communicants, the Monks." "How sublime," continues Milman, whose words I am quoting,¹ "how exalting, how welcome to the sacerdotalism of the West this lofty doctrine! The Celestial Hierarchy were as themselves; they themselves were formed and organized after the pattern of the great Orders in heaven."

As we contemplate this imposing system, in which all created intelligences seem marshalled on the slopes of a great pyramid whose summit is lost in heaven, it begins to strike us that for some things which we have been taught to believe there is little or no room. Evil can hardly exist; for how can there be opposing powers of evil in a system of emanations from a centre, a First Cause, of supreme goodness and wisdom, and power? If evil there be, or what we are accustomed to call such, it must be but as the absence or negation of good, as the shadow betokening the space where light reaches not, as the want of energy where the pulsations from the centre of life are ceasing to throb. Or, again, what place

¹ "Latin Christianity" (1855), vi., p. 405.

can be left for the Christian doctrine of Redemption, of an Incarnation and Atonement, when all conceivable space is filled up by these concentric and ever radiating Orders, and not a link of connection missed between God and the humblest human soul? In the Dionysian writings an attempt is made vaguely and hesitatingly to find room for these cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith. But the system ill accords with them. Its tendency is naturally pantheistic, and as such we see it in the writings of Erigena.¹ In Colet, on the other hand, the teaching of the Church comes out clearly and explicitly.

"If Jesus Christ had not died," he writes, in commenting on Rom. vii. 24, "as a sufficient satisfaction for our state, and recompense for sin, then, without further delay, all the ungodly, each for his own transgressions, would themselves have perished, and been hurried away to death and punishment. But Jesus alone suffered that to be inflicted unjustly on Himself, which would justly have been inflicted upon all; that in mercy, and at the same time in a fitting kind of justice, He might reserve to Himself such out of the whole number as He would have to be exempt from death, even that endless death into which men would of themselves have fallen, if sinners had been destroyed. By the death of Christ, therefore, which was gone through for all, men are retained in life, by the marvellous grace of God; that their sins may be blotted out by the death of Christ, even as by their own, and that in all the rest of their life they may strive after virtue and aspire unto God."²

As examples of mystical interpretation, the following may be taken. In the first Colet is speaking of the sacrifices offered by Noah.

"Being spared after the Deluge, he reared an altar to the Lord, and offered whole burnt-offerings of the cattle that were clean, smelling with a sweet savour to God. The meaning of which act could be none other than this: namely, that as he meditated profoundly on Jesus, crucified along with His crucified ones, that is, the

¹ See an article in the "Saturday Review," Aug. 21st, 1869, p. 257.

² "Lectures on Romans," p. 23. Compare also the "De Corpore Christi mystico," p. 40.

holy and spotless martyrs, who died as burnt-offerings to God, in the fire of their love towards God and towards men;—as he so meditated, I say, he commemorated, as in a picture, the eventful sacrifice thus to happen in the future. After the Deluge followed a burning; after water, fire; after sin, grace in the justified ones.

“There are two kinds of men, the righteous and sinners. Of these, the latter are overwhelmed by the deluge of their sins; the former are offered as burnt-offerings to God in the fire of Christian love. When the sinners have been overwhelmed by the flood of their iniquities, the righteous flame-born ones that remain (so I call those who are sprung from the flame of the Holy Spirit), even all true Christians, will come forth happily deified from the blessed conflagration, being offered to God for a sweet savour. As the material world is ended first by water and afterwards by fire,¹ so will the spiritual world be consummated by sin and by grace. By sin the wicked will be swallowed up, to everlasting death; by grace the righteous will burn, to everlasting life. Hence the Deluge, wherein sinners perished in the days of Noah, was followed by a conflagration and acceptable burning of most clean victims.”²

In the next, Colet is describing the Church as a city set on a hill.

“High above the vale of this world’s misery it stands forth in Christ on a hill that cannot be hid; seeing above it the sky and the glittering stars; seeing beneath it the earth, with the dwellers thereon in gloom and darkness. There, meantime, between earth and heaven, on the heights of Christ’s lofty mountain, stands the Church; breathing the pure and vital air of the Spirit of God, and seeing men daily journeying towards it, in the strength of the same Christ, and in the purification of themselves by the divine fire: men who, when they have at length become thoroughly simple, pure, and one in it, are then made clear and luminous by the light of the divine

¹ This was thought to be symbolized by the outer margin of the rainbow being azure, the inner flame-coloured. Thus Walafrid Strabo, in the “Glossa Ordinaria,” on Gen. ix. 13, writes: “Arcus duos habet colores, ceruleum et igneum, qui duo judicia expriment: unum aquæ, quod preterit; aliud ignis, quod venturum creditur in fine seculi. Unde ceruleus color extrinsecus; ignis vero intrinsecus.” See also Hieronymus Magius, “De mundi exustione,” 1562, p. 9.

² “Exposition of Romans,” p. 120.

sun, and are perfected by the crowning love of God in Christ, in heaven.”¹

Sometimes the mode of expression is post-Aristotelian, or scholastic, rather than Dionysian. Thus, where he is speaking of the union of the Holy Spirit with the Church:—

“When the Spirit is taken away, there is a change of form in all things,² not least in the Church, and beauty is turned to deformity. But if the Spirit of God be present with the Church, then from His essence, which is one with the Father and the Son, there flows a spiritual being into all the members of the Church. By this influx they are in the first place begotten again to a spiritual being, and in the next are sustained therein. Thus the act of that essence of God in us is our spiritual being in Him. For the act of essence is being.³ And just as from the Spirit’s essence there flows unity and spiritual being into the several members of the Church, so from the power of the same essence there flows a spiritual working in every spiritual man, accompanying his spiritual being.”⁴

I have not sought, in this outline of Colet’s expository writings, to bring into prominence anything bearing on controversial topics. It would be easy, in doing so, to expose oneself to the charge of unfairness. But his treatment of two subjects in particular seems to require a passing notice; the first of them, at least, being somewhat singular. One of these is the subject of the Sacraments of the Church, on which he wrote a separate treatise,⁵ apparently as a sequel to his abstract of the “Hierarchies” of Dionysius. The other is Purgatory.

¹ “Lectures on 1 Corinthians,” p. 125. It will be remembered that purification, illumination, perfection, were the three Dionysian stages of ascent to God.

² In the Latin, *species mutatur in omnibus*; with which compare Macrobius, “In Somn. Scip.,” ii., 12: “Constat, inquam, nihil intra vivum mundum perire; sed eorum quæ interire videntur solam mutari speciem.”

³ This was a refinement of the schoolmen on Aristotle. They distinguished between *essentia* and *existentia*. Thus “humanity” was the essence of a human being; and when this essence was conceived of as energizing, the result was existence, or being. See Mirandola, “De Ente et Uno” (“Op.,” ed. 1601, p. 176).

⁴ “De Corpore Christi mystico,” p. 37.

⁵ “De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ,” printed in 1867. In the “Treatise on

Colet so far accepts what was then the customary language of the Western Church as to speak of seven sacraments. But his arrangement and general treatment of them are peculiar. Under the influence of Dionysius he groups together Orders and Matrimony in the first place as distinctive of the *vir*, the masculine or sacerdotal element in the Church. The remaining five, of which Penitence occupies the first place, he assigns to the *uxor*, the feminine or lay element.

With regard to Purgatory, the only distinct reference that he makes to the subject, so far as I am aware, is in his comment on 1 Cor. iii. 13-15.¹ After instancing the continuance of the tares among the wheat, he goes on :—

“So likewise does God bear all things, and endures the faulty building of wicked men in His Church, until the end of this world, until that day of the Lord wherein *the fire shall try every man's work*. Of that fire speaks Esaias (i. 25), *I will purely purge away*, saith the Lord, *thy dross*. That fire it is, which Christ came to send on the earth; a fire consuming iniquity; even that good and holy Spirit, which Jesus had as a *fan in his hand*. That Spirit will *thoroughly cleanse* the Lord's floor. That same purgatorial Spirit will also *try every man's work of what sort it is*. And whatsoever shall be able, through a spiritual affinity, to endure His mighty presence, shall stand unharmed, yea, even sustained and preserved, in the fostering rays of the Heavenly Spirit. . . . But whatever shall be found to have no kindred with the Spirit, but to savour rather the weakness of man's feeble intellect, than of the strength of the Divine Spirit, will be driven away as a vain and worthless thing, since it cannot endure the power and truth of the Divine Spirit. Then too will they be losers, in whom that vain imagination had its rise, who seek to be wise in the divine work above what is fitting. Yet still St. Paul says that such *shall be saved*; but *so as by fire*—unless indeed the word used by the Apostle, namely, *if* (for he says, *if² so as by fire*)

the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,” six mysteries are commented on : Baptism, The Lord's Supper, the Consecration of the Holy Oil, Priestly Orders, Monastic Dedication, and the Rites of the Holy Dead.

¹ “Lectures on 1 Corinthians,” p. 30.

² In the copy of the Vulgate used by Colet the reading would appear to have been *si quasi* for *sic quasi*. I have not, however, been able to discover any trace of this reading.

implies that St. Paul had some doubts whether such would be saved or not. But thus much at any rate is certain. If such like defilers of God's temple be saved, they will be saved through the fire and purification of the Holy Spirit. Though at the same time what follows does not appear to offer salvation to such men. For it is written that *such defilers of the temple of God, God will destroy*. However this be, we make no doubt but that it was the Apostle's meaning, that the impure and defilers of the temple of God, if saved at all, would be saved no otherwise than by the purification of the divine fire and of the Holy Spirit."

I have given this passage at length with but one unimportant omission, that Colet's real meaning may be seen as clearly as possible. Although conflicting views may still be taken of it, the repeated identification of the "fire consuming iniquity" with the "good and holy Spirit," seems to point to an agreement between the opinions of Colet on this subject and those of Erasmus in his "Annotationes" (1 Cor. iii. 15).

Of more importance is it to notice the piety and evident sincerity of the author of these expositions and the goodness of heart that is disclosed to us on every page. Every now and again he breaks out into expressions of genuine emotion, if words can ever be a test :—

"Oh, how dreadful in the sight of God are sins ! Oh, how great is man's confusion. Here do I, helpless one, conscious of my sins, and blushing at them in secret, cry suddenly and lift up my voice to Thee, most loving God and Father, saying, Impute not unto me my sins ! Out of the depths does my cry break forth : *If Thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand ?*"¹

And again :—

"Here do I, poor wretch, overwhelmed by the consciousness of my many and great offences, find in this grace matter to raise great hope. I know and confess that I have sinned grievously ; and I stagger under the recollection of these my sins. But I am aroused to hope by what is here written, yea, for the very purpose of kindling hope, by the great Apostle ; namely, that grace overcomes sin, and that fear ought to give way to humble hope."²

¹ "Exposition of Romans," p. 127.

² *Ib.*, p. 153.

One other extract, itself an abridged one, must suffice.¹ It is on the subject of returning evil for evil.

"There is nothing that conquers evil but good; and if you aim at returning evil for evil, and endeavour to crush evil by evil, then you yourself descend to evil, and foolishly shift to a weaker position, and render yourself more powerless to confound the evil. . . . On which account, the good must on all occasions be on their guard not to return evil for evil; lest, by this descent to evil, they cease to be good. But we must constantly persevere in goodness and in reliance upon God; that, as nature demands, we may conquer opposites by opposites, and evil by good; acting with goodness and patience on our part, that evil men may become good. This must be allowed to be the only means and way of conquering evil. And they who imagine that evil can be dispersed by evil, are certainly fools and madmen, as matter of fact and experience shows. For human laws, and infliction of punishment, and undertaking of wars, and all other ways in which men labour to do away with evil, aim in vain at that object, and in no respects attain their purpose. . . . Hence we ought to aim as much as possible at goodness, in order to conquer evil; and at peace and forbearance, to overcome war and unjust actions. For it is not by war that war is conquered, but by peace, and forbearance, and reliance on God."

The reader may be disposed to think the foregoing extracts somewhat lengthy, but they will enable him to form a reasonably fair estimate of Colet's expositions, in their variety and originality of treatment. No extracts, indeed, can represent them at all adequately, so singular is the mixture at times of Dionysian mysticism,² of scholastic terminology, of "gram-

¹ "Lectures on Romans," p. 86. The passage is printed *in extenso*, as a specimen of Colet's style, in Professor Henry Morley's "Library of English Literature," vol. i., p. 143.

² The statement of Green ("Short History," 1878, p. 298), that Colet "came back from Florence to Oxford utterly untouched by the Platonic mysticism or the semi-serious infidelity which characterized the group of scholars round Lorenzo the Magnificent," wants expressing a little more carefully. He was certainly untouched by the paganism of the Platonic revival, or only so far touched as to view it with a dislike which made him less tolerant than he might otherwise have been in his choice of classical authors for his school. That there is a great deal of mysticism, Platonic or otherwise, in his expositions, even a cursory glance at them will show.

matical" interpretations, and of the outbursts of a deep and genuine conviction, shaking off traditional forms, and speaking with an eloquence all its own. How great an impression these Lectures must have made in Oxford, at a time when the newly-established Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity was announcing the "Quodlibets" of Duns Scotus for his subject,¹ we may judge from a few indications preserved to us, that will be mentioned in the next chapter.

¹ It was in the year 1497 that the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, pending the legal settlement of her foundation, appointed her own confessor, Edmund Wylsford, B.D., Fellow of Oriel, to read a Divinity Lecture in Oxford. According to Wood, he began to read, to a great concourse of hearers, on the "Quodlibeta" of Scotus. See the "Lectures on Romans," Introd., p. xxi.

CHAPTER VI.

INCIDENTS OF LIFE AT OXFORD.

Friendliness to younger students.—Influence on those about him.—Letter to the Abbot of Winchcombe.—Wolsey.—More.—Introduction of Erasmus.—Discussion at Prior Charnock's table.—On Christ's Agony in the Garden.—Allegorical interpretations.—Answer of Erasmus to Colet's appeal.—Colet's work bearing fruit.

LITTLE as there is, in the way of distinct evidence, to show us what the effects were of Colet's teaching at Oxford, a few interesting traces yet remain from which we may discern something of the influence he exercised on those about him. It seems to have been at all times a fixed principle with him, not to store up knowledge for the pleasure of its private acquisition, but to communicate whatever he had gained to others. Thus it was, that when he had read through the "Celestial Hierarchy" of Dionysius, he wrote out from memory an abstract of it within the next day or two, and sent it to a friend whose "lofty and angelic mind" deserved "not only to hear of angels, but also to be associated with them."¹ There is no direct evidence to prove to us that this abstract was made at Oxford; but from the circumstance of the first draft of it being preserved in the Cambridge MS., along with the Lectures on Romans and 1 Corinthians, as well as from the sequence of thought observable in those lectures, there is a strong presumption that it was. The "Letters to Radul-

¹ "On the Hierarchies," p. 1. That such an abstract was written-off from memory would have been difficult to believe. But Colet's words expressly declare it; and to the fact that his memory was singularly retentive we have a curious testimony in Wirtzung's "General Practise of Physicke" (1605), p. 120.

phus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation"¹ were, in like manner, addressed to some friend unknown to us, who was engaged at the time in biblical study. For a third unknown friend, called Edmund, possibly a distant relative of his own,² he drew up the "Literal Exposition of Romans," of which, as has been said, a portion only remains. What a number of men holding important positions at Oxford attended his lectures when first begun, we have heard from Erasmus. How, after he had gone some way through Romans, and there meant to pause, he was solicited to resume the task and finish the Epistles, he tells us himself:—

"Though I determined with myself," he writes, "that I would not continue my exposition of this Epistle written by St. Paul to the Romans beyond what was lately delivered by me, and brought down to [the end of the eleventh chapter], yet the truth is, being often and pressingly asked by certain friends, themselves also attached hearers of my interpretation of St. Paul (to whom, as in friendship bound, I communicated what I had written on the former part of the Epistle), I was at length induced to promise that I would go on with what I had begun, and apply to the rest of the Epistle what still remains of my exposition."³

In this we see a token of the enduring influence of Colet's teaching.

But we have, fortunately, one instance preserved to us of the way in which others were impressed by Colet, in which

¹ As there is less evidence that these were written at Oxford, they will be noticed more particularly in a later chapter. For the presumption—a very slight one—that the Radulphus named was Dr. Ralph Collingwood, Dean of Lichfield, see the Introduction to the "Letters," p. xviii.

² There is a slight balance of probability in favour of his being Edmund Knevet. See the Introduction, as above, p. xxxvi. He is described as "*eximia verecundia adolescens*," and as studying "*litteratura*" (reading for his B.A.?) along with theology.

³ "Lectures on Romans," p. 57. "Finis" is written at the end of his comments on ch. xi. It would seem that the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians" were delivered first, as there is a reference in the exposition of Romans, ch. xii., to a previous account of the "various parts of the Church" (1 Cor. xii.?), and as the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians" are more Dionysian and fanciful in tone, in some respects, than those on Romans.

nothing is left to vague or uncertain inference, for the story is told by the chief actor himself. In the winter of 1496-7, or it may rather, perhaps, have been 1497-8,¹ Colet had a visit from a priest who proved to have been one of his attentive hearers, and who desired to learn something further about the writings of St. Paul. Colet was pleased with the incident, and wrote an account of it next day to a friend of his, Richard Kidderminster, abbot of Winchcombe. Here, as in other instances, we shall notice that a further object was aimed at than the gratification of a like-minded friend. The letter is a somewhat elaborate one, considering the occasion, and contains a request that it might be shown also to the warden of the abbey, and then returned to the writer.² But it will be best to give the letter itself in an English version, with no change beyond a few omissions for brevity's sake :—

*“John Colet to the Abbot of Winchcombe.”*³

“I had with me yesterday evening, reverend Father, a fellow-priest, a good and learned man, both an attentive listener to [my expositions of] St. Paul, and most anxious to gain a nearer acquaint-

¹ Mr. Seebohm, “Oxford Reformers,” p. 42, conjectures 1496-7, but the selection of Romans as the subject of conversation seems to point to that having been the Epistle lectured on in the preceding term. Hence, if Colet began in the Michaelmas term of 1496, and took 1 Corinthians for his first subject (see the preceding note), the winter in question might more probably be that of the following year. The evidence is, however, very slight.

² The MS. letter itself is preserved in the Camb. MS., Gg. iv. 26, before described. It is in a neat, formal hand, with the superscription in a hasty running hand, to all appearance Colet's own.

³ Richard Kidderminster, a Worcestershire man born, entered the Benedictine monastery of Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, at the age of fifteen. At nineteen he was sent to Gloucester College, Oxford, being highly thought of by the abbot, John Twyning. In 1487 he succeeded Twyning as abbot, and died about 1531. His friendship with Colet would account for his having an opponent in Standish. See Wood's “Athenæ,” by Bliss, i., p. 61. What is still more interesting to learn about him is the fact, mentioned by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, that in his latter years he voluntarily resigned the post of lord abbot, and was content to live the rest of his days as a simple monk in the same abbey. How like a friend of Colet's ! The passage occurs in a dedication to Kidder-

tance with the Apostle himself. After chatting for a while by the fire-side, he drew forth from his bosom a little book, in which were the Epistles of St. Paul, carefully copied in his own handwriting. At this I smiled, and quoted approvingly the words of the Gospel: ¹ *where your treasure is, there will your heart be also*. 'There is nothing in literature,' said he in reply, 'that I more love or admire than the writings of St. Paul.' And he was polite enough to add, with a touch of flattery, that I had done most to raise that liking of his for the Apostle, by my expositions in the previous term. I looked at him and said, 'I love you, brother, if you love St. Paul; whom I also, along with you, do singularly love and admire.' Then I went on to speak at length on the merits and wisdom and divine character of St. Paul; adding that in his Epistles, and that too in every part of them, there was a marvellous fertility both of matter and knowledge; so that, if a man did but note and carefully consider them, he might, if he chose, draw from almost every word of the Apostle thoughts to be admired and marked. Fired, as it were, at the saying, 'then I beg, you,' he cried, 'draw forth something for me now, while we are sitting at our ease; and from this hidden treasure, which you say is so great, bring out some propositions² to the light. In this way I may both have something to commit to memory, as a result of our sitting talking together, and may also be able, when reading St. Paul by myself, to catch from you some method of marking and noting down what most deserves to be noted down.' 'I will oblige

minster by Longland of one of the sermons which, as the successor of Colet and Frowick, he had to preach before Henry VIII. on the Fridays in Lent ("Ioannis Longlondi . . . tres conciones," 1519). After acknowledging his services in collecting and reducing to order the Benedictine rules, copies of which the bishop hoped to send through all his diocese, he continues: "sed et nunc fis exemplar peculiare pietatis atque mentis vere Christianæ religiosæque; dum sponte, dum cupide renunciata totius honoris potestatis et eminentiæ prærogativa, redis ad æqualitatem cæterorum cum quibus ante fueras" (leaf 54 vers.). Such an example, at such a time, deserves to be kept from oblivion.

¹ As printed in Knight's "Life of Colet," p. 265, the expression is "ei dixi illud, *Ubi*," &c. But in the original MS. it is "ei dixi illud evangelicum, *Ubi*," &c. The rendering throughout has been made from the MS. text.

² The word "propositions" may sound stiff and formal in this connection, but we must remember it was a common term of the schools. As will be noticed afterwards, what Colet deduces is thrown into this form, short theses or propositions, each of which might be defended or attacked.

you, my good sir,' I said. 'Open your book, and let us try how many golden sentences can be gathered in the first chapter of Romans alone.' 'For fear they should slip from my recollection,' he said, 'I should also like to commit to writing what you say.' 'Write on,' I replied, 'to this effect.'

"And so, reverend Father, I have felt a wish to copy out for you what he wrote at my dictation; that you too, ardent lover as you are of all holier wisdom, may see what points we lightly touched upon in our beloved St. Paul, while sitting the other day by our winter fire-side, though we went no farther than the first chapter of Romans. These are as follows:—Faith in Christ comes of *calling* by grace. Preaching Christ comes from *separation*. Paul was commissioned and sent by Christ Himself. All true Christians are beloved of God and holy. Grace and peace with God are what is most to be sought for from God. The chief source of joy and congratulation is the faith of men. Others are to be visited for the fruit and profit of faith.¹ It is the duty of a preacher of the word of God to teach all alike. . . ."

After a long string of similar "propositions," Colet concludes:—

"These, reverend Father, are what we gathered and noted down without premeditation, as I said just now, from the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. And they are not all that might be noted. For in the salutation also we might gather, that Christ was foretold by the predictions of the prophets; that Christ is God and man; that Christ sanctifieth men; that through Christ there is a resurrection both of souls and bodies; and countless other points besides there are, contained in that first chapter, which a keen-sighted man might espy with the greatest ease, and dig out if he chose. To me St. Paul appears to be in his single person a boundless sea of wisdom and piety. But it was enough to skim the few points, thus set down, for my clerical brother, who wished to have some sentences struck off roundly, and fashioned like rings from the golden material of St. Paul.²

¹ To make the Latin, as it is in Knight, intelligible, a stop should be put after *hominum* and *fidei*, and removed from *alii*.

² I am not sure that I understand the metaphor in "*aliquas sententias excudi voluit rotunde, et quasi annulos ex aurea Pauli materia effingi.*" It may mean that Colet's friend desired to have some propositions shaped

"And these, as you see, I have copied out for you, good Father, with my own hand, that your mind, in its golden goodness, may recognize from them, as from a sample, how much gold there is stored up in St. Paul. Please to let Mr. Warden read this along with you as well. For his disposition is so courteous, and endowed with the love of all that is good, that I feel sure he takes the highest possible pleasure in all that is good. Farewell, best and dearest Father,

"Yours, JOHN COLET.

"P.S. When you have read the contents of this letter, please to let me have it back again, as I have not a copy of it by me. And though I am not in the habit of keeping my letters by me (nor could I do so, because they are sent off by me as first written, without any copy being retained), still, if there are any which contain matters of doctrine, I should not like them to be altogether lost. Not that they are worth preservation; but if left behind they might help to keep alive some recollection of me.¹ And whatever other reason there may be for my wishing the letters I write to you to be preserved, this one is certainly the strongest, that I should like them to remain as enduring witnesses of my respect for you. Again farewell."

Did no other traces of Colet's work at Oxford remain to us than this solitary letter, we should still be able to discern of what good influences he was the centre. We see his readiness, his eagerness, to make others partakers of any pleasure or benefit he had received. We see how little he regarded personal labour or trouble in sending off at once so long a letter "containing doctrine," where he thought it would be acceptable. We may even note in him something of the graceful tact shown by St. Paul, in his Epistle to Philemon and elsewhere, which leads him to bespeak a favourable reception for his letter, by hinting at the disposition, "good as gold," of the correspondent to whom he writes of the "golden matter" of

"roundly," each complete in itself ("totus teres atque rotundus"), and so resembling rings or links in a chain. For *excudi* in this sense, comp. Virg., "Æn.," vi., 848.

¹ It is a touching comment upon this, to read the memorandum made by Archbishop Parker at the end of the Corpus MS. referred to before: "Supersunt multa ab eodem Ioanne Colet scripta in Divum Paulum; sed puerorum ejus incuria perierunt."

St. Paul, just as he had praised the "angelic mind" of the unknown correspondent to whom he sent his epitome of the "Angelic Hierarchies of Dionysius."¹

But there were men at Oxford whose intercourse with Colet led to results of greater importance than in any of the instances yet mentioned.

Wolsey was there in 1498. In that year he was playing the part of schoolmaster, though but for a short six months, as successor to Andrew Scarbott, in the school of St. Mary Magdalen College.² Whether he had become acquainted with Colet before he took his bachelor's degree in 1485, at the age of fifteen, is uncertain. If it were proved that Colet was of that college, there could be no doubt about it. Unfortunately, Wolsey's life between 1485 and 1497 is a blank to us.³ But in 1498, when Colet was lecturing, and when Wolsey was schoolmaster in what was most probably the school of their common college, it would be in the highest degree unlikely that the future cardinal was not one of the audience. And there are circumstances that point to more than a mere official acquaintance between the two in after life. It was Colet who preached the installation sermon when Wolsey was made cardinal. Later on, we find Colet writing to Wolsey to recommend his surmaster, John Rightwise, for preferment.⁴ And finally, on Colet's death, the residence which he had been preparing for himself at Shene was occupied for a time by Wolsey.⁵ But the characters of Colet and Wolsey were so

¹ This was well brought out in an article in the "Spectator," May 20th, 1876.

² Bloxam's "Register," as before, iii., p. 24.

³ *Ib.*, p. 25.

⁴ "Original Letters," ed. by Sir Henry Ellis, 3rd series, i., p. 190. The letter is reprinted in the Appendix to the "Letters to Radulphus," p. 313.

⁵ Blunt (J. H.), "History of the Reformation" (1869), p. 48, n. It is Blunt's inference that the circumstances mentioned above betoken some degree of intimacy between the two men. Otherwise Colet rarely alludes to Wolsey. In a short letter to Erasmus, dated Oct. 20th, 1516, he briefly says, as an item of news, "Lilcolniensis regnat nunc Eboracensis," with perhaps a touch of bitterness in "regnat." The connection between Wolsey and Colet was afterwards kept up in their books, the "Rudimenta

different, notwithstanding their kindred zeal for the spread of sound learning, that it is doubtful whether either of them could have become to any great extent a disciple of the other.

One who afterwards proved himself a disciple of Colet's, and, in some respects, the greatest and most distinguished of them all—young Thomas More—had just entered Lincoln's Inn when Colet began his public teaching at Oxford. As his shortened stay in the University was probably during the years 1492-3, it is doubtful how far he had come under Colet's notice, when the latter left, about 1494, for foreign travel. The public position held by the fathers of both in London would make it likely enough that they had already been acquainted.¹ At any rate, whether it was in Oxford or not that the friendship between the two began, it was not long before Colet pronounced young More to be the "*unicum ingenium*" of this country; and More, in turn, avowed that he submitted in all things to the guidance of Colet.²

Meantime, in the spring or summer of 1498, there came to Oxford a scholar from the Continent, of about the same age as Colet, little known in the world then, but destined to become, before many years were over, perhaps the greatest teacher of his age. This was Desiderius Erasmus.³ He had come over from Paris at the instance of his former pupil, Lord Mountjoy, with the object of improving his knowledge of Greek, which Grocyn had been teaching in Exeter College since his return from Italy in 1491.⁴ As was natural from his early connec-

Grammatices" of the former being often bound up with the "*Æditio*" of the latter (as in the copy marked 625. a. 1 in the British Museum Library), so that Colet's little work is occasionally found beginning with signature B, as if incomplete in itself.

¹ Seebohm, "Oxford Reformers," pp. 25, 113.

² See More's letter to Colet, dated Oct. 23rd [1504], quoted by Seebohm, *ubi sup.*, p. 149.

³ Seebohm, *ib.*, p. 94. All that relates to Erasmus and More, in connection with Colet, has been told so fully and well by Mr. Seebohm, that I shall be as brief as possible in this part of my subject.

⁴ Boase, "Register of Exeter College," p. 27.

tion with that Order, he took up his abode in St. Mary's College of Augustinian Canons, of which Richard Charnock was then prior;¹ and here he was hospitably entertained. Charnock seems to have been at once struck with the ability of his new visitor, and to have given a favourable account of him to Colet. This drew from Colet the following letter, in which he welcomes the stranger to Oxford, and in courteous terms desires his friendship.

"My friend Brumus commends you highly, Erasmus, in a letter I have had from him. And you have been commended to me already, both by the reputation in which your name is held, and by the testimony of your own writings. For when I was in Paris, Erasmus was a name often heard in the conversation of learned men. I read a letter of yours to Gaguin, expressing admiration of the research and ability shown in his 'History of France,' and that served as a taste and sample, as it were, of an accomplished man of great learning and of varied knowledge. But the strongest recommendation to me of all is this: that the venerable Prior of the House and Church of Jesus Christ, with whom you are staying here, assured me yesterday how great, in his judgment, was your worth, and how distinguished your goodness. And so, as far as learning and knowledge and unfeigned goodness can have weight with one who rather wishes and desires this result than makes a profession of it, so far, Erasmus, by virtue of those good qualities in you, you both are, and ought ever to be, most highly commended to me. As soon as I have seen you, I will be my own pleader, as others have been yours in your absence; and I will commend myself to you and to your wisdom. That others should have commended you to me was unbecoming; for the less ought to be commended to the greater, the more unlearned to the

¹ The history of this college, which has been mentioned before, p. 32, is related by Wood, "Ancient and Present State," pp. 186-7. It was founded by Thomas Holden, and Elizabeth his wife, to be a nursery for the younger canons, sent hither for academical learning from the different abbeys of the Order in England. The charter of Henry V. had been confirmed by Henry VI. in 1435, and the building had been afterwards much enlarged. The statutes by which it was governed were settled in 1446. After the Dissolution, the property is said to have been seized by the Corporation of Oxford, and left to decay. But at length the chapel, "which was a very fair fabric, built with freestone," was given to Brasenose College, 1656.

more highly cultured. However, if there is aught within my small means, in which I can be either agreeable or useful to you, it shall be as readily and ungrudgingly at your service as your high merits can desire or claim. I am glad that you have now come into England, and hope that our country may be a source of as much pleasure to you, as I believe that you, by your learning, can be a source of profit to it. Be assured that I am at your service, and shall always be so, as in duty bound, in the case of one of whose worth and learning I have the highest opinion. Farewell.

“From my chamber at Oxford.”¹

To this Erasmus replied :—

“If I recognized anything at all in myself, most courteous sir, deserving of even slender praise, I should certainly rejoice, like Hector in Nævius,² at being praised by you, the object of all praises. For I set so high a value on your opinion, that your single approbation of me is far pleasanter than if the whole forum of Rome were shouting its applause, or an ignorant multitude were admiring me, vaster than the fabled army of Xerxes. . . . In truth, my dear Colet, so far from your praises having made me conceited, I am even more dissatisfied with myself than ever, being naturally a little fastidious.³ For when qualities are affirmed of me which I revere in others, but miss in myself, it seems like admonishing me what sort of person I ought to be. . . . But, that you may not afterwards complain of having had unknown wares pressed upon you by fictitious recommendation, and that judgment may precede affection,⁴ see ! I will portray myself to you. And I shall be the better painter, from knowing myself better than others know me.

“You will find in me a man of slender fortune, or rather of none ; a stranger to ambition, but for friendship most ready ; one whose acquaintance with literature is but scanty, but his admiration of it most ardent ; one who worships integrity in others, but counts his own as none ;⁵ yielding readily to all in learning, but to none in

¹ Erasmi “Epistolæ” (1642), p. 309.

² Quoted in Cicero, “Epist. Fam.,” xv., 6 : “*Lætus sum laudari me, inquit Hector, opinor apud Nævium, abs te, pater, a laudato viro.*”

³ *Putidulus*, “affected.”

⁴ “*Ut deligas priusquam diligas.*”

⁵ “*Qui probitatem alienam religiose veneretur, suam habeat nullam.*” This may sound like excessive self-disparagement. But it probably refers

loyalty ; a man of a simple, open, frank disposition, ignorant alike of pretence and disguise ; of a timid but upright spirit ; a man of few words ; in short, one from whom you would expect nothing but qualities of heart.

"If you, Colet, can love such a man, and deem him worthy of your acquaintance, then set Erasmus down as your own, completely your own. This England of yours is pleasing to me on many accounts, but on none more than this,—that it abounds in those things without which nothing as a rule is pleasant to me : in men, that is, fully conversant with good learning. And among them, with no dissentient voice, you are accounted *facile princeps*. For such is your learning that, even without the recommendation of your high character, you would of necessity be admired by all. Such is the holiness of your life that, even if you had no learning to recommend you, you could not fail to be held in love and respect and reverence by everyone. Why should I now mention how much I have been struck and delighted with your quiet, composed, unaffected style, welling forth like a clear fountain from a richly-stored mind, flowing equably and uniformly, ever transparent, simple, and full of moderation, with nothing at any time rough or strained or agitated ; so that methought I clearly recognized in your letter a reflection of your mind. You say what you mean ; you mean what you say. You do not speak first and think afterwards ; but your thoughts are followed spontaneously by words, that spring from the heart, not from the lips. In short, with a happy ease, you utter without premeditation what another could hardly express with the utmost care. But I will restrain my praises, at least in your presence, lest I should check your newly-formed goodwill towards me. For I know how loth to be praised are they who alone deserve the praises of all men. Farewell.

"Oxford, 1498."¹

It seemed worth while to give these two letters with but little abridgment, from the interest they possess as being the beginning of a correspondence that was to be a lifelong one between Erasmus and Colet. They show us, moreover, in what relation the two stood to each other, not merely in their

to the felt timidity of spirit, acknowledged just afterwards, which made it hard at times to stand upright.

¹ Erasmi "Epistolæ," p. 310. Some passages are left out in this letter of Erasmus. That of Colet, preceding it, is given at length.

position at an English university, where Colet would of course be in some degree the patron, but in their respective characters. Though Colet was, if anything, the younger of the two¹—both of them being now about thirty-one years of age—we discern in his letter the tokens of a more settled purpose than in the other. It would be evidently unfair to judge severely the complimentary tone which Erasmus takes, or to cut down his Latin superlatives to English measure. He was a struggling scholar, strange to England and its ways, who had had many unkind buffets from fortune already, and might very possibly have more. It was accordingly natural that he should bring out his most polished phrases, and be ready with a little classical ornament or two, when one of Colet's standing wrote to him. Soon his letters to his English friend became less artificial. Colet succeeded in drawing out the *aurea bonitas* from his nature as from others. Colet himself, meanwhile, shows in this his first letter to Erasmus, as in all else, a singular consistency. No one would suppose that he was the younger of the two. While gladly acknowledging the benefits which he, and all his countrymen with him, might receive from the scholarship of Erasmus, he makes it none the less apparent to us that the versatile and unsettled Dutch scholar will be the better for his contact with one of such singleness of purpose and of judgment so formed. And the end will be found to have justified this anticipation. "I seem to myself to see," wrote Marquard von Hatstein to Colet many years after, "that each of you owes much to the other, but which of the two owes most to the other I am doubtful."²

Several little incidents have been recorded of this early intercourse of the two friends at Oxford. And that they should have been thus preserved is one of the many benefits for which those interested in the life of Colet have to thank the ever-busy pen of Erasmus. One such is related by him in

¹ "Qui es mecum par ætate et annis," is the expression used by Colet in a letter to Erasmus, in 1516. "Me minorem duobus aut tribus mensibus," is what Erasmus says of Colet, in his letter to Justus Jonas.

² The letter is given at full in Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," p. 469.

a letter to Sixtinus.¹ After a sermon that had been delivered on one occasion, the preacher was being entertained at dinner, but in what college or hall is not stated. Colet was himself at the head of the table, with Prior Charnock on one side, and the guest of the day, the preacher of the sermon, on the other. Next him sat Erasmus, with a lawyer opposite him, of name unknown. Whether suggested by the subject of the discourse, or by some passage read aloud (as would not unlikely be the case) during the repast, the conversation presently turned upon the sacrifice of Cain and Abel. Why should the offering of one have been rejected and that of the other accepted? Erasmus and the divine took the common view, that Abel's sacrifice was acceptable as being in accordance with a divine precept, while Cain's was not so, being the self-suggested offering of what he thought proper himself to bring.

Against this Colet argued that the very fact of Cain's being recorded to have tilled the ground showed a distrust in the providence of God. He chose rather to depend upon what his own labour and skill could produce. Abel, on the other hand, as a keeper of flocks, was content with what the earth spontaneously yielded. Hence the one showed a faith which the other lacked; and hence the offering of one would be acceptable to God, while that of the other would not.

That such a difference should have been due to the greater or less degree of faith in the offerers, and not to the nature of the offerings themselves, was a sound principle, and one which we are sure Colet would have held fast to, though he does not appear to have caught the reason why the offerings were thus different.² But the chief interest for us in Erasmus's account of the matter lies in the description he gives of Colet's power and earnestness in debate. To some of those present the subject would probably appear a purely speculative one, of little

¹ Erasmi "Opera," iii., p. 42. I have done little more than condense in the text the account given by Seebohm, as above, pp. 97-101.

² "By faith Abel offered up a more excellent sacrifice than Cain."—Heb. xi. 4. Erasmus makes no note on this passage in his "Annotationes," beyond a brief remark on the expression rendered "more excellent sacrifice."

practical moment. But it was not so with Colet. If he entered into a discussion at all it was not to bandy arguments, but to find or defend the truth. And so we are not surprised to be told that, though solitary in his opinion, he was more than a match for them all. "He seemed like one inspired. There was a loftiness and dignity in his mien almost more than human. His voice, his looks, his whole aspect, were changed, and seemed to grow upon you as the enthusiasm carried him along."

So wrote Erasmus to his friend, in terms that can hardly be translated literally. It is evident, at any rate, how impressed he was with Colet's manner. Here, as on other occasions, he might perhaps, on calm reflection, think him hasty and inclined to paradox. But his sincerity and earnestness of purpose, and the sense of reality conveyed in his advocacy of any opinion he held to be true, must have done much to steady a mind like that of Erasmus, undecided as yet in its choice of an object of life, and, in particular, averse from the study of theology.¹

We should draw the same conclusion from another little passage of arms between the two, of which Erasmus in like manner has left us an account. One day, probably in 1499,² the conversation between them had turned on the subject of Christ's Agony in the Garden. What was the cause of that intense mental suffering, an agony so extreme that "His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground"? Above all, how could the prayer be His, that, if it were possible, this cup might pass from Him? Erasmus was content with the usual answer, that it was due to the twofold

¹ "He shrank from the pursuit of theology," says the author of the "Life" prefixed to the collected works of Erasmus, "because he felt his mind disinclined to overthrow all their foundations [*i.e.* those of the scholastic divines], and also foresaw that the result would be his being branded with the name of heretic." Mr. Seebohm, in his inference from this passage ("Oxf. Ref.," p. 106), makes too much of "*a studio theologiæ abhorrebat*," in rendering it "abhorring the study of theology," or again "disgusted with theology."

² Seebohm, as above, p. 116.

nature of Christ—that the weakness of His true humanity was for the moment making itself felt.¹

This explanation did not satisfy Colet. He pointed to the fact that many martyrs were recorded to have met their death without flinching, or any sign of fear. Could our Lord be in any way surpassed by His followers? Rather let the view of St. Jerome² be maintained, who held that it was the consciousness of the exceeding guilt of the Jews, present to our Redeemer's mind, which wrung from Him this prayer of agony. If they, in their hardness of heart, were but bringing down upon themselves destruction, out of the very sacrifice which was meant to save them, what could exceed the bitterness of the cup to be drunk? The same mental anguish that prompted the prayer, "If it be Thy will, let this cup pass from Me," prompted also that last prayer upon the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

When Erasmus came to think over this interpretation, as Colet had desired him to do, he was not disposed to assent to it. The majority of commentators he found to be on his own side; and so he penned a reply, in which he re-stated the subject in dispute, with the arguments on both sides, but confirming his own view by a citation of authorities.³

¹ See the references to St. Ambrose (on Luke xxii. 42), St. Augustine (on Ps. xxxii.), Leo the Great, and St. Athanasius, in Bishop Wordsworth's note on Luke xxii. 42.

² "Postulat autem non timore patiendi, sed misericordia prioris populi, ne ab illis bibat calicem propinatum. Unde et signanter non dixit, *transseat a me calix*, sed *calix iste*, hoc est, populi Judæorum, qui excusationem ignorantie habere non potest, si me occiderit," &c.—"Comment. in Evang. Matth.," xxvi. 38. Compare also his "Comment. in Isai," lib. iii. c. ix.

³ This letter was printed by Erasmus, under the title of "Disputatiuncula de tedio, pauore, tristitia Iesu," &c., and appended to the "Enchiridion" (of Strasbourg, 1515, and later editions). At the end, he adds a note to the effect that two replies of Colet, and two rejoinders of his own had been written, but could not be found for the purpose of publication. Three years later he recovered one of Colet's missing letters, which was printed with the "Enchiridion" of 1518. Its appearance was explained in the following curious postscript (ed. Basil, 1519, p. 295): "Ex multis quæ aliorum furacitas sustulerat, hoc unum ministri furacitas servavit, clam

Into the merits of the controversy we need not enter. But the concluding passage of Erasmus's letter is interesting, from the deferential tone it betrays. With all his raillery, and all his parade of authorities, Erasmus plainly feels that his opponent is one who has thought out his subject, and possesses the strength which this alone can give. "But now," he writes, "I await your steel-clad battalions, marshalled with a Nestor's art. I await your mighty trumpet-blast. I await those arrows of Colet, more unerring than even the arrows of Hercules. Meanwhile, I too will deploy my intellectual strength. I will collect forces, and get ready auxiliaries of books, lest I should not be able to sustain your first attack."

One letter of Colet's in answer to this remains, though the rest of the correspondence has unfortunately been lost, and it is a characteristic one. After complimenting Erasmus on his letter, he says that, though it is forcible in argument, and supported by many weighty authorities, it has not yet shaken his own opinion imbibed from St. Jerome. He would not be thought obstinate; but, rightly or not, he still believed that his own view was the true one. Then he continues:—

"At present, however, I should not be willing to join issue with your letter as a whole. For I have neither the strength nor leisure for engaging in such a contest suddenly and off-hand. But I should like to try and storm that first line and forefront of your battle, in which one may fairly think your chief strength lies. In the meantime do you patiently hear me. And if, as the flints strike together, any spark of fire is given out, let us both alike eagerly catch at it. For it is truth that we seek, not the upholding of an opinion; and, as argument rebuts argument, the truth will perchance flash out, like fire from steel when struck by steel.

descripta hac portiuncula, quam reliquis adjiciendam putavi, adjecturus et alia, si continget nancisci." This would seem to imply that, during his last illness or at his death, Colet's papers were rifled. Some support may be lent to such a notion by the statement of Bale that some of Colet's treatises were found after his death "*divaricatis pagellis*," and by the memorandum made by Bishop Tonstall on the incomplete "*Expositio Literalis Epistolæ ad Romanos*," that Colet had written much more on St. Paul, but "*puerorum ejus incuria perierunt*." See the "*Letters to Radulphus*," p. 281.

"In the first place, I cannot assent to your statement—an erroneous one, I think, though you have many to keep you company in it—that the Holy Scriptures, from their prolific nature, give birth to many senses, at least in any one kind. Not that I should be slow to admit that they are prolific in the highest degree, admiring, as I especially do, their superabundant fertility and fulness; but I deem it to be of the essence of fertility, that it should bring forth, not a number of things, but some one thing that is perfectly genuine."

This position Colet goes on to maintain by alleging instances more or less fanciful. The higher an animal is in the scale of creation, the less numerous, as a rule, its offspring at one birth. The swarming offspring of ants and flies was a token of weakness and want of true fecundity.

"But the Holy Spirit, whose offspring the Holy Scriptures are, and who is Fertility itself, bringing forth in Himself as He does by His own power one and the same simple truth, must needs produce for us, by His own truthful words, one only sense, and that the truest."

And he ends by a graceful allusion to his own letter as an illustration. Had he possessed the gift of true fertility, he would not have dissipated in many words the strength that should have been consolidated in few. To be so prolix was a sign not of fecundity, but of sterility, "for there is nothing more wordy than a barren mind."

To understand the allusion to the "first line and forefront" of his opponent's position, we must notice that Erasmus, in the early part of his reply, had accepted the theory of the manifold senses of Holy Scripture. It is this position which Colet declares his intention of attacking. In calling it the front line of the defence, he appears to exaggerate the importance attached to it by Erasmus. For it is only allowed by him, in passing, as a theory under cover of which he might accept Colet's interpretation as one possible one.¹

¹ See the "Disputatio," leaf 127. It is not clear how a difference of opinion as to the *cause* of certain words spoken by Christ could be affected by any theory as to the literal or figurative meaning of the words them-

The point in question was an interesting and important one, and closely connected with the history of Scriptural interpretation, not only at that time, but throughout its whole course.¹ Roughly speaking, we may interpret the language of the Bible in one of two ways. One is the literal or historical, the other the figurative or mystical. Under the latter head comes the threefold subdivision into the allegorical, moral (or tropological), and anagogical.² Thus we have the fourfold senses so often referred to in earlier commentaries. In some cases it was held that an expression might be interpreted in all four ways. Take, for example, the term "waters." In Gen. i. 9, "Let the waters under the heaven," &c., it was in its literal sense. In Isaiah xliii. 2, "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee," it was in the moral sense. In Ezek. xxxvi. 25, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," it was in the allegorical sense, being understood of baptism. And lastly, in Jerem. ii. 13, "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters," it was in the anagogical, or elevating sense,—by which, that is to say, our thoughts are raised from the earthly to the heavenly.

Now while, from the days of Origen downwards, commentators have been in danger, at times, of running into childish extravagances, from giving the rein too freely to their fancy in following out figurative interpretations, sufficient count is not always taken of their great principle of justification (if any justification be admitted at all), namely, the transcendent importance of the Christian dispensation as compared with the Jewish, and every other which preceded it. The lives and actions and words of patriarch, and prophet, and king, were in themselves of small moment. The record of them was precious in so far as it pointed to something in the

selves. See more on this subject in the Introduction to the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians," pp. xvi., xvii.

¹ The discussion of it occupies a large share of space in Archdeacon Farrar's "Bampton Lectures" for 1885.

² See the "Bibliotheca" of Sixtus Senensis, p. 134, and the "Treatises on the Hierarchies," p. 105.

later history of Christ and His Church. Thus, of what consequence was it, to read in the book of Job (i. 14), "The oxen were plowing, and the asses feeding beside them," if nothing beyond the literal fact was meant to be related? But the words acquired a new and valuable significance if they conveyed a picture of the clergy labouring in the ministration of the word, and the laity patiently gathering instruction by their side.¹ Erasmus went so far in this direction as to say, in one place, that we might as well read the story of Livy as the Book of Judges, or many other parts of the Old Testament, if we left out of sight their allegorical meaning.²

Colet had a sounder judgment than to assent to this. In language which is itself somewhat mystical, he maintained that, just as, in case of the lower animals, the offspring at each birth is numerous, and approaches unity in the higher, so the perfect fruitfulness of Holy Scripture is shown in its yielding one sense at a time.

To be prolific merely in respect of number was a token of dispersion of power, and only deserving to be reckoned as a form of weakness and sterility.³ Agreeably with this, he had written, in his abstract of the "Hierarchies":⁴ "In the writings of the New Testament, saving when it pleased the Lord Jesus and His Apostles to speak in parables, as Christ often does in the Gospels, and St. John throughout in the Revelation, all the rest of the discourse, in which either the Saviour teaches His disciples more plainly, or the Apostles instruct the Churches, has the sense that appears on the surface; nor is

¹ No satire was meant. See the late J. M. Neale's "Mediæval Preachers," Introd., p. xxx.

² "Enchiridion," ed. 1523, leaf g. A more sober statement is that made by him in his Exposition of Psalm lxxxvi.: "Sensus enim historicus, veluti substratum fundamentum, non excludit, sed sustinet, sensum mysticum."

³ "Non quod nolim ipsas [Scripturas] quam fecundissimas esse, quarum exuberantem fecunditatem plenitudinemque unice admiror; sed quod opiner fecunditatis esse ipsius non parturire plura, sed unum aliquod et ipsum verissimum."—Coleti "Epistola," *ubi sup.*, p. 291.

⁴ P. 106.

one thing said and another meant, but the very thing is meant which is said, and the sense is wholly literal."

This is distinct enough. But it should be carefully observed that the reference is solely to the "writings of the New Testament." And even in this case Colet goes on to say, "Still, inasmuch as the Church of God is figurative, conceive always an *anagoge* in what you hear in the doctrines of the Church; the meaning of which will not cease till the figure has become the truth. From this, moreover, conclude that, where the literal sense is, there the allegorical is not always along with it; but, on the other hand, where there is the allegorical sense, the literal sense is always underlying it."

Colet's position thus appears to be a reasonable one, especially if compared with the excesses in this direction of Mirandola or Savonarola. The examples of mystical or figurative interpretation to be found in his own writings are taken chiefly, if not entirely, from the Old Testament. Thus we have the strange inner meaning assigned to circumcision;¹ the application of what is said about Abel and his offering to the good Shepherd and His acceptable sacrifice;² the prefigurement of "starlike men in a heavenly church," by the stars to which Abraham's seed are compared;³ the reference to the Holy Trinity in the three elements of the repast prepared by Abraham at Mamre;⁴ the familiar spiritualizing of Israel's escape from Pharaoh, to signify the escape of the Christian from the Prince of this world, when he has got safely through the baptismal flood.⁵ It is plain that such instances as these—and they are not numerous in Colet's expositions—are of a very different nature from the far-fetched allegorizing which is not content with the primary literal meaning of any passage, either in the Old Testament or the New. They are of a different character from what we see, for example, in such a sermon as that of St. Anselm on Christ's

¹ "Exposition of Romans," appended to the "Letters to Radulphus," p. 85.

² *Ib.*, p. 119.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 142.

³ *Ib.*, p. 124.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 152.

walking upon the waves, in which even such simple words as "while he sent the multitudes away," are explained of the final rejection of the unbelieving majority; or in the expositions of Savonarola, when he affirms that "the allegorical interpretation is the only one adapted to the Scriptures;"¹ or in the preaching of Bishop Longland, where the literal sense is declared to be but carnal.²

What impression was made on Erasmus by Colet's arguments on this occasion, we are not told, as part of the correspondence has been lost. That he retained his estimate of the superior value of allegorical interpretation seems plain from many passages of his writings, and those not the earlier ones alone. In the "*Sileni Alcibiadis*" (an essay on this proverb first added to his "*Adagia*" in 1515), his language is as strong as in the passage from the "*Enchiridion*" before quoted, as to the valuelessness of the Old Testament histories, unless they are allegorically expounded.³

But the time was approaching when these friendly discussions must be broken off, through Erasmus's departure from Oxford. In the winter of 1499-1500, having attained, as we may suppose, the object with which he had accepted Lord Mountjoy's invitation to England some three years before, Erasmus determined to return to Paris. He had probably learnt as much as Grocyn or other English scholars could

¹ "The Triumph of the Cross," translated by O'Dell Travers Hill, p. 74.

² "Si solius grammaticæ viribus, si solis vocibus innitare, sensum e scriptura literalem, carnalem dumtaxat intellectum, elicies; tota errans via."—"Tres Conciones," f. 47. Compare also the passage in his sermon before the University of Oxford, 1525, ff. 33-4. in which he minutely defines the four senses of Holy Scripture.

³ Drummond's "Erasmus," i., p. 293. It should be remembered that, while we use the word *allegorical* as equivalent to figurative, it properly meant only one kind of figurative interpretation; the application, that is, of words and actions to something analogous in the history of Christ and His Church. The sacrifice of Isaac would be a familiar instance, and is so taken by Longland in the passage above cited.

teach him, and must now cast about for some way in which to employ his acquirements with profit.

To Colet the thought of his leaving England could not but be painful. He had found in him a friend and fellow-worker of a spirit in many ways kindred to his own. He could not be long in the society of Erasmus, without discovering in him a genuine love of truth, a hatred of imposture, a wide experience of men and manners, a ready wit, an unrivalled power of observation and description, a scholarship much wider and more accurate than his own. From one of such qualities as these he could, and did, learn much himself. On the other hand, there was in Colet that unequalled power which comes from a single eye, a pure heart, and an undivided purpose. Before these qualities Erasmus bowed. A union of the two natures in one man would have produced a leader under whom the great religious changes of the sixteenth century might have been guided to happier issues. No wonder that Colet should grudge the services of such an intellect to any cause but the one he thought the highest. Was there not in Oxford a field wide enough for any labourer? Could not Erasmus devote himself to the same work as that in which he himself had engaged?

Such appears to have been the tenour of a letter addressed by him to Erasmus on the prospect of his departure. The letter is unfortunately not extant, but we may infer the contents of it from Erasmus's reply, which was as follows:—

“I am as little deserving of the fault you find with me in your last letter, learned Colet, as I was of the praise awarded me in your former; though I take your unmerited censure with more equanimity than I did your equally unmerited commendations. . . . My belief is that you wished to put me to the test in each way, and to note alike my self-satisfaction at being honoured with the praises of such a man, and my touchiness when nettled by his slight reproof. You must needs be a pattern of constancy in your attachments, when you are so cautious, so careful, so hesitating, and so circumspect, in admitting friends to you. But this is only jesting with you. . . . And so, for the future you shall either praise or blame me as you please, so long as a letter from you is sped hither daily; for that is the greatest

pleasure that could befall me. But I must now briefly reply to your letter, that the servant who has brought it may not go back empty-handed.

“In saying that you dislike this modern school of divines, who spend their lives on mere subtleties and quibblings of sophistry, you are quite of the same way of thinking as myself. It is not that I condemn their pursuits; for there is no literary pursuit that I do not approve of. But when those pursuits of theirs are isolated, and not seasoned with more ancient and polite literature, they are only qualified, in my opinion, to make a man a contentious sciolist: whether they can render him wise, let others determine. For they drain the intellect dry with their hard and barren refinements, and neither invigorate nor inspire it. Worst of all, while Theology, the queen of all the sciences, was enriched and adorned by the eloquence of former writers, they disfigure it in the way we see by their want of power of expression, and by the solecisms of a barbarous style. While it was made clear by the intellects of the old race of scholars, they now entangle it with thorns, and confuse everything in their very efforts to find a solution (as they call it) for everything. And so you may behold her that once was the most dignified and majestic of all the Sciences, now wellnigh speechless, and destitute, and in rags. Meantime we are being drawn on by a sweet and seductive, but morbid, passion for insatiable disputes. Quarrel after quarrel springs up, and 'tis strange how haughtily we contend about the merest shadow. Then, lest it should be thought that we have made no addition to the discoveries of the older theologians, we have, confidently enough, prescribed certain fixed rules according to which the Almighty performed His wonderful works. And yet there are times when it is nearer perfection to believe the fact of God's working, but to leave the mode of it to His omnipotence. Moreover, in our eagerness to display our ability, we sometimes debate questions scarcely tolerable to religious ears. . . . This might, perhaps, be endured, if one meddled with such questions in moderation, at some time in the course of one's life, just as a whetstone to the intellect. But as it is we not only spend our lives about them, like so many rocks of the sirens, but we cling to them till death. In comparison with these studies we despise all other literature. Then too, in our days, we find those as a rule applying themselves to Theology, the highest of all literature, who, from their dull and feeble intellect are hardly fit for any literature at all. I would not speak in such terms of the learned and estimable professors of theology, whom I look up

to and revere in the highest degree ; but of this vulgar and conceited herd of divines, who, in comparison with themselves, despise all the learning of all the scholars that ever lived.

“In having undertaken to do battle with this doughty race of men, that you may do your best to restore to its pristine beauty and dignity the old and true Theology, beset and hampered as it is by their thorny subtleties, you have chosen a department, my dear Colet, in many ways most excellent. It is, I protest, a most religious one, on the score of Theology herself ; and it is a most wholesome one, alike for all who are bent on study, and for this flourishing University of Oxford itself. But, to speak the truth, it is one full of trouble and ill-will. The trouble and difficulty of it will, however, be overcome by your learning and industry ; while your magnanimity will easily make light of ill-will. Among theologians themselves there are a good many who have both the will and the power to assist these honourable efforts of yours. Nay rather, there is none but will give you the right hand of fellowship ; seeing that in this crowded University there is no doctor even, but has listened most attentively to your public lectures on St. Paul, now of three years’ duration. A matter, this, wherein I know not which is more to be commended : their modesty, in not being afraid, teachers though they are, to be thought learners from one of youthful age, and invested with no professorial authority ; or your conspicuous learning and eloquence and high character, which are deemed by them to deserve this honour.

“I am surprised, however, not at *your* having undertaken so burdensome a charge, to which you can rise equal, but at your inviting me, a mere nobody, to be your partner in so noble an office. For you urge, nay, you almost reproachfully insist, that, as you are doing with St. Paul, so I should expound the ancient Moses, or the eloquent Isaiah, and thus, as you express it, try to lend warmth to the studies of this University in the chilliness of these winter months. But I, who have learnt to live alone, am neither ignorant how poorly equipped I am, nor boast of learning enough to suffice for undertaking so important a task. Neither do I suppose myself to have the requisite strength of mind, to be able to bear up against the ill-will of a number of men resolutely defending their own. Such a measure calls for no novice, but rather for a most experienced commander. Pray do not term me devoid of shame in refusing your request, since I should be utterly devoid of it were I not to refuse. You are acting, my dear Colet, with less than usual discernment, in

'asking' (as Plautus says) 'for water out of a dry rock.'¹ Why, with what face shall I teach what I have not myself learnt? How am I to warm the cold that others suffer from, when I am myself all shivering and shaking? It would be rashness itself for me to hazard my little strength all at once in such a great engagement, and, as the Greek proverb has it, to attempt a masterpiece before I have learnt my trade.²

"'Oh! but,' you say, 'I had been expecting you;' and you complain of being deceived in your opinion. Well then, you should expostulate with yourself, and not with me. For it is not I that misled you, since I neither promised nor hinted at anything of the kind. But you misled yourself, in refusing to believe me when I told you the truth about myself. The object of my journey to England was not to teach rhetoric or poetry; for they ceased to be agreeable to me the moment they ceased to be necessary. That is an office I decline, because it falls short of my purpose. Your office I decline, because it is too great for my strength. In case of the one you reproach me undeservedly, since I have never made secular literature (as it is called) my avowed profession; and to the other you urge me in vain, since I feel myself too unequal for it. Even were I perfectly competent, I should not be at liberty for the task, since I shall shortly return to Paris, whence I came. Meanwhile, so long as I was partly detained here by the winter, and partly prevented from leaving in safety through the flight of a certain duke,³ I betook myself to this famous University to spend a month or two with scholars like yourself, rather than with those bedizened courtiers. So far am I, however, from wishing to thwart your noble and unworldly efforts, that, since I am not yet a suitable helper, I promise to be an assiduous encourager and seconder of

¹ Plaut., "Persa," i., 1, 43: "Nam tu aquam a pumice nunc postulas, qui ipsus sitiât."

² Erasmus quotes the proverb in his "Adagia" (ed. 1629), p. 227, under the heading *In dolio figularum artem discere*. Here he quotes it in the Greek. The adage is capable of more than one interpretation, but the simplest, and that which suits the application of it here is, "to learn the potter's art on a great jar," that is, to venture prematurely on an important piece of work, which it would be a serious thing to spoil, instead of beginning with something suitable for a learner.

³ This is referred, with great probability, by Mr. Seeböhm ("Oxford Reformers," p. 133, n.), to the flight of Edmund de la Pole from England, in 1499. Bacon, in his "History of King Henry VII." ("Works," 1730, iii., p. 489), appears to make 1500 the year of De la Pole's flight into Flanders. Comp. Stubbs, "Seventeen Lectures," 1886, p. 351.

them. For the rest, whenever I am conscious of possessing the requisite firmness and strength, I will myself join your side, and will lend assiduous, if not prominent, help in vindicating true theology. In the mean time, nothing can be more agreeable to me, than to go on as we began, discussing daily about Holy Scripture, either in conversation or by letter. Farewell, my dear Colet. My host and our common friend, the courteous Prior Charnock, bids me send you his heartiest greeting.

“Oxford: from the College of Augustinian Canons, commonly called St. Mary’s.”¹

That Erasmus was right in his decision, and that he judged correctly what his own needs and capacities were, we cannot for a moment doubt. It was natural that Colet should seek his companionship now, as it was that he should covet his services for the mastership of his new-founded school afterwards. But we can see without difficulty how disastrous it would have been to the progress of literature and religious thought in Europe, had the author of the “Colloquies,” and the editor of the “Novum Instrumentum,” been chained for the last twenty-five years of his life to the schoolmaster’s desk. And the loss, though it need not have been so great, would have been no less real, had he yielded to the urgent wishes of his English friend, and remained behind to lecture on the Pentateuch or the Prophets at Oxford. To respond fully to the secret call which came to him—as it comes to every man, if he have but strength of purpose to answer it—he may have felt that he needed the highest scholarship, as well as the highest theological training, that could be got. These two results he in great measure achieved, and the whole civilized world was the better for them. To say that he wanted the single-mindedness of Colet, or the intrepidity of More, is merely to say that his character was not a perfect one.

Erasmus left Dover for the Continent at the end of January, 1500, and with this event we may bring to a close the few notices that have been preserved to us of Colet’s life at

¹ Erasmi “Lucubrationes,” Argent. 1515, pp. 120-3.

Oxford. For four years longer, at least, he seems to have kept steadily to his work. His lectures were still gratuitous. No academic honour or title of any kind appears to have rewarded them. But the years so spent, though uneventful, could not be barren of results. Tyndale was at Magdalen Hall during part of the time, and it is not likely that he would have failed to be a listener to Colet, when it is recorded of him that he would "read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures."¹ In other quarters, too, as it seems probable, though with less direct evidence of connecting influence than in this, we may trace the spread of Colet's example. We are told of a Cambridge man, George Stafford, who became B.A. and Fellow of Pembroke Hall in 1515, that "for about four years he read in the University a lecture on the Scriptures, whereas former lecturers in divinity had always read on the Sentences."² So it may have been with Ralph Collingwood, warden of St. Thomas's College, Stratford-on-Avon, in 1507, and Dean of Lichfield in 1512. The daily Bible readings that he introduced into the college, and the weekly sermon that he began and kept up in the cathedral, may have been prompted by what he had heard of in Oxford.³

At any rate, in the anecdote related by Erasmus of the dinner in hall, at which Colet presided, as well as in what he tells us of the many hearers, some in high office, who came to listen to his expositions, we may see that Colet held a digni-

¹ See the passage quoted from Foxe by Mr. Seebohm, "Oxford Reformers," p. 137, n.

² Cooper, "Athenæ Cantabrig.," i., p. 39.

³ For the conjecture that he may have been the Radulphus to whom Colet addressed his "Letters on the Mosaic Account of the Creation," see above, p. 89, n. One slight piece of confirmatory evidence may be added to what is there said, to show an acquaintance between the two. Colet's signature in the admission book of Doctors' Commons (see above, p. 63, n.), is only separated by two names from that of Dr. Ralph Collingwood. The latter is the bottom of five on leaf 7 verso, the former the third of five on leaf 8. As no dates are attached, it cannot be said whether the signatures were made at the same time or not.

fied, if not a publicly recognized position in the University. And in the presence of the nameless shadows, or the figures that are but names to us and no more, as we meet with them in the correspondence between the chief actors, we may discern how wide-reaching Colet's influence really was, and how at the same time he acted in the spirit of one of his own maxims: *Si vis divinus esse, late ut Deus*.

CHAPTER VII.

CHURCH PREFERMENTS.

Abuses then prevalent.—Benefices held by Colet.—Comparison with others.—His disposal of his income.

LONG before Colet began his work of teaching at Oxford, he had been presented in succession to several benefices in the church. This preferment came at first from his own family, and was due, we may suppose, in part, to the decided inclination he had shown for theological studies. That they should have been offered to him, or accepted by him, at so early an age, is a proceeding the blame of which we may chiefly lay on the bad custom that then prevailed. What use Colet made of the emoluments thus placed within his reach, we shall presently see.

The earliest benefice that appears to have been bestowed upon him was the rectory of St. Mary, Dennington, Suffolk. To this he was instituted August 6th, 1485, and he held it till his death.¹ It was in the gift of his cousin, Sir William Knevet of Buckenham, and his second wife, Joan, daughter of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.² According to Bishop Kennett, the situation of Dennington, a couple of miles north of Framlingham, would make it a convenient halfway house for him between Oxford and Cambridge, and "might well entitle him to that relation unto both universities which Polydore ascribes to him."³ However this might be,

¹ For the authorities, see Kennett's MSS., vol. xcvi. (Lansdowne, 1030), f. 15. A later rector was Dr. William Fulke, of Cambridge.

² See the "Letters to Radulphus," Introd., p. xxxvii., n.

³ The statement of Polydore Vergil, that Colet studied St. Paul at Cambridge as well as Oxford, is vague, and unsupported by other

it was natural enough that Sir William Knevet should think of his cousin at Oxford when the living in his gift became vacant. That a youth of nineteen at the utmost, not yet a graduate, or in deacon's orders, should be presented to the rectory, is a noteworthy fact, but by no means an uncommon one in that age.

The church of Dennington (or Denton, as the people about pronounce it), is an ancient and interesting one. When the writer visited it, in August, 1876, and again in August, 1877, its grey stone walls stood mellowing in the harvest sunshine, much as they might have stood in Colet's time, with cornfields waving all about them. The guide-books speak of it as in mixed Decorated and Perpendicular styles, with carved woodwork of singular beauty inside. "The open seats in the nave," says one authority, "are perhaps, with the exception of those at Saxfield, the finest in the county; they have rich poppy heads, and an almost endless variety of panelling; but the finest specimens of woodwork in the church are the parclose screens at the end of each aisle, with the lofts above. The date is about 1450. It would be difficult to find more beautiful specimens than these screens."¹ In the vestry were hung a number of small wooden shields, with the arms of the various rectors painted on them. Colet's was one of the series. A long oak coffer which stood there might well have been as old as his time. No autograph of Colet could be found in the hasty inspection of the registers which was all that the writer had an opportunity of making; but in one book was a copy of an inventory made by him, "found twenty-four years after his decease."²

This little circumstance may serve to show that Colet was authority: "Paulum sibi præceptorem delegit, in eoque cum Oxonii *et Cantabrigiæ* tum in Italia ita exercuit, ut," &c.—"Hist. Angliæ," lib. xxvi., *sub fin.*

¹ Murray's "Handbook for Essex, Suffolk," &c., 1870, p. 153.

² The registers appear to go no further back than 1570. But at the end of a book written in the seventeenth century is a list of rectors from 1470. For this and other information I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. William McCall, and the present rector, the Rev. G. Castleden.

not neglectful of his Suffolk parish, but had the same methodical care for what belonged to its church as he afterwards exhibited on a greater scale at St. Paul's.

Another benefice which he owed to his family was the rectory of St. Nicholas, Thurning, then in the diocese of Lincoln, but now of Ely. To this he was presented September 30th, 1490, by his father, Sir Henry Colet, who had bought the manor of Thurning with its appurtenances, including the advowson of the church, of Thomas Mullesworth. Colet resigned this preferment before January 20th, 1493-4, at which date we find the appointment of a successor.¹ The population of both Dennington and Thurning was probably never large. That of the former is given as 895 at the present time, and that of the latter as 186, both having declined during the last twenty years.²

To the same cause as the above was probably due the appointment to another office, the vicarage of St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney. The date of Colet's presentation has not been preserved, but his resignation of it was before September 21st, 1505, when Walter Stone, LL.D., was admitted as his successor.³ Stebunhith, or Stepney, as we now call it, was then a pretty country village, and here, "amongst the snipes and the orchards and ploughmen," as a late writer ex-

¹ Kennett's MSS., vol. xcvi., f. 15, and xlv. (Lansdowne, 978), f. 233.

² The registers of Thurning Church, as the present rector, the Rev. J. Carter Browne, D.D., obligingly informs me, only go back to 1569. Hence no additional information as to Colet's incumbency is obtainable from them.

³ Kennett's MSS., vol. xlv., f. 234 verso. The Rev. John F. Kitto, vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, late rector of Stepney, has kindly informed me that there are no parochial records or registers at Stepney of so early a date as Dean Colet's time. "His house," Mr. Kitto writes (*i.e.*, not the Great Place, but the smaller one at the corner of White Horse Street and Salmon Lane), "still stood up to within the last five years. It was in a dilapidated state, and was ultimately blown down in a gale; and it has been replaced by the new vicarage of St. Matthew, which stands on its site. The walk across Stepney churchyard from the direction of this house is still known as the Dean's Walk; and this tradition is the only trace which Stepney now retains of my illustrious predecessor."

presses it,¹ stood Great Place, the residence of Sir Henry Colet, close by the parish church. To this pleasant home we shall have occasion to refer more particularly hereafter. That Colet should accept such an office under the circumstances is less surprising than that he should resign it. But his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's shortly before this latter event may have seemed to him a sufficient reason for his doing so. Of his incumbency at Stepney scarcely any traces have been preserved. But one little gleam of light falls indirectly upon it, and seems to show him busy here, as elsewhere, for the good of his parish. In the will of Sir Henry Colet, dated September 27th, 1505 (just about the time of his son's resignation), there occurs the bequest: "I bequeth to the works of the body of the parishe church of Stebunhith aforesaid xls."² Slight as is this intimation, it shows that the fabric, at any rate, of the church was being cared for.

The above were the only parochial cures held by Colet, but he had also, at various times, several cathedral or collegiate preferments. One of these was the prebend of Goodeaster in the collegiate church of St. Martin le Grand;³ another, that of Botevant, in York Cathedral;⁴ another, that of Durnesford,

¹ Dr. James Hamilton, in "Macmillan's Magazine," No. lxxi. (September, 1865), p. 402.

² The will is printed in Knight's "Life," p. 399. The sum of 40s. then would answer to nearly £25 now. It may be worth noticing that the foundation of the Ratcliffe Grammar School (now known as the Coopers' School) appears to have been the work of parishioners of Colet's at Stepney. It was founded by Nicholas Gibson, citizen and grocer, and Avis his wife, who were both buried in the chancel of St. Dunstan's. Nicholas Gibson died September 23rd, 1510. His widow afterwards married Sir Anthony Knevit, possibly a brother of the Sir Thomas Knevet who was drowned in the "Regent," and, if so, a connection of Colet's by marriage. See the "New View of London" (1708), i., p. 219.

³ Easter Bona, or Good-easter, was about a mile south of Easter Alta, near Dunmow in Essex. It was made part of the endowments of St. Martin's by Ingelricus and his brother in 1056. The date of Colet's appointment does not appear to have been preserved, but he was holding it in 1497, and resigned it January 26th, 1503-4. See Kennett's MSS., vol. xlv., f. 235, and xcvi., f. 15.

⁴ The date of his appointment was March 5th, 1493-4. As he is men-

in Salisbury,¹ and possibly another, the treasurership of the cathedral of Chichester.² To these must be added the free chapel of Hilberworth, in the diocese of Norwich,³ and, finally, the prebend of Mora, in St. Paul's, London, and (apparently at the same time with it) the deanery.⁴

These details have been given at the risk of tediousness, because it seemed right that nothing in such a life should be slurred over, and because any charge that might be brought against Colet as a pluralist should at least not be evaded. The facts are indisputable that Colet held at various times the benefices above stated; and this, too, though he was not ordained deacon till December 17th, 1497, and priest till the 25th of March next following. Two out of his three parochial cures he resigned, as we have seen. The third he retained till his death. He was thus, it would appear, while dean of St. Paul's, at the same time rector of Dennington, in Suffolk, a prebendary of York and Salisbury Cathedrals, and perhaps treasurer of Chichester. His prebend of Mora is looked on as included in his deanery.

If the list thus plainly set down looks a culpably long one, it may be instructive to compare it with what is recorded of Colet's immediate predecessor in the deanery of St. Paul's, Dr. Robert Sherborne. Many a longer list could be found, tioned as being succeeded in the stall by Tonstall about 1519, he probably held it till his death. See Le Neve's "*Fasti Anglicani*," 1854, vol. iii., p. 176.

¹ In 1502. See Kennett, *ubi sup.*, vol. xcvi., f. 46.

² Le Neve, *ubi sup.*, i., p. 268. It is not certain that it was the same John Colet, but as a successor was installed July 10th, 1519, it seems probable. In that case Colet would have held it three years, being appointed in 1516, and resigning (as we may presume) the summer before his death.

³ See note, *ante*, p. 12.

⁴ The date of his installation to the prebend is given as May 5th, 1505. Newcourt thinks he was made dean in the same month, but the exact record has not been preserved (Kennett, *ib.*, f. 47). There are good reasons, however, for thinking that Colet's appointment must date from 1504, if not even from the latter end of 1503, though he may not have received the temporalities of his office till his predecessor, Dean Sherborne, had in like manner received those of the see of St. David's in April, 1505. The motives for this opinion will appear further on.

but the circumstances naturally make this comparison a fair one. Sherborne, then, was successively prebendary of Wildland, Finsbury, and Mora, in the Cathedral of St. Paul (1489-96); rector of Alresford, in the diocese of Winchester (1501); master of the Hospital of St. Cross; master of the Hospital of Holy Trinity, near Kingsthorpe (1492); archdeacon of Bucks (1495); archdeacon of Taunton, and prebendary of Milverton in Wells Cathedral (1496); archdeacon of Hunts about the same time; dean of St. Paul's (1499); after which, being sent as ambassador to Rome in October, 1503, to congratulate Pius III. on his accession, he was provided, in 1504, to the vacant see of St. David's, receiving the temporalities in April, 1505. This bishopric he held for three years, when he was finally translated to the see of Chichester, in which he died.¹

This example may serve to show how common in those days was the heaping together of benefices and offices in the church, an evil which reached its climax in Wolsey. By the side of Dean Sherborne's preferments those of Colet look few and modest. And yet we feel that if nothing else were able to be said, such passages as the following would hardly have come with a good grace in Colet's convocation sermon:—

“How moche gredynes and appetite of honour and dignitie is now a dayes in men of the churche! Howe ronne they, ye (yea) almost out of brethe, from one benefice to an other; from the lesse to the more; from the lower to the hygher! Who seethe nat this? Who seyng sorowethe nat?” And again:—“For what other thinge seke we now a dayes in the churche than fatte benefices and hygh promotions? Ye, and in the same promotions of what other thyng do we passe upon, than of our tithes and rentes? That we care nat, howe many, howe chargeful, howe great benefices we take, so that they be of grette valure.”

He would have been a bold man who could venture to declaim thus, before a convocation of clergy, if himself a conspicuous example of the very practices he denounced. And

¹ Kennett's MSS., xcvi., f. 47, and Wharton, “De Decanis,” p. 232.

that Colet was clear of the charge of seeking benefices for their emoluments' sake, we learn from the testimony of Erasmus. "All his revenue from church preferments," he tells us, "he left in the hands of his steward to be laid out on the expenses of his household."¹ And this is incidentally confirmed by a document printed by Dr. Knight in 1724² containing a statement of the income of Dean Colet from all sources, private and official, with the sums disbursed by him, for the year ending at Michaelmas, 1508 (24 Hen. VII.). In it the revenues from the rectory of Dennington and the prebends of Mora, Botivant, and Durnesford, are duly set down, along with the free chapel of Hilberworth in Norfolk. The totals of these are given as £72 10s. The revenues of the deanery are in like manner given as £144 6s. 8d.³ If the figures are to be trusted (and it must be admitted that the items do not quite agree with the total), then Colet's whole income from church preferments was between £216 and £217, answering, at the present time, to something like £2,600. From this would have to be deducted certain abatements, dues to the Bishop of London, and the like. Out of the remainder, whatever it was, there is an entry to show the steward's receipt *super expensis hospicii predicti* of £100 4s. 9d., or, on the same principle, of rather more than £1,200 of our money.

It is not pretended that this statement of accounts alto-

¹ "Quicquid e sacerdotiis redibat, id in usus domesticos œconomo suo dispensandum reliquit."—"Ep. Jodoco Jonæ."

² "Life of Colet," Appendix II. It is described as "taken out of a manuscript writ in the dean's days, now in the hands of the family." In 1867, as I was courteously informed by R. Stratfold Collet, Esq., of the Hale, Wendover, no such document was known to be preserved at that ancient seat of the family.

³ Dr. Knight complains that "the casting up of sums is not always exact in originals." It might be added, "nor in copies either." Here, for example, "cxiii. vi. viii." is printed as the sum, instead of, what it should obviously be from the items, "cxliiii. vi. viii." The use of Roman numerals is a cause of many mistakes in the appendices to Knight's work. Thus, two "honest chapleyns" are made into eleven (11 for ii, p. 398), and "two hundred acres" of land into eleven hundred (p. 404), from a like cause.

gether bears out the testimony of Erasmus. The document, as it stands, is too incomplete and inaccurate, whether from defects in the original, or from careless transcribing or printing, to allow of much reliance being placed upon it. But it shows, at any rate, that it was Colet's practice to treat the revenues of his ecclesiastical preferments as a separate account, and that, on the eve of his great undertaking in the foundation of St. Paul's School, when he would require a large sum in hand, he could still disburse so much through his steward for the expenses of his household.

Why these expenses should be so great, will be better seen from the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.¹

DEANERY OF ST. PAUL'S.

The old Cathedral of St. Paul.—Secularizing of the building.—Spirit of the Cathedral clergy.—Reforms needed.—New statutes framed.—Higher ideal of Divine Service and of school work.—Divinity Lectureship, how discharged.—Attempts at amendment.—Colet's own sermons.—Lollards frequenting them.—More one of his hearers.—The Dean's table.—His household.—His scholars.

IN estimating the great work done, and the still greater work attempted, by Colet, as Dean of St. Paul's, it will be convenient to regard it from three points of view, and in the order indicated by Erasmus. What seems to have been the first thing that struck his friend and biographer was that he "restored the decayed discipline of the cathedral body."² In the next place he speaks of his preaching. After that he describes his mode of life—his way of ordering his household, his expenditure, his conversation.

His efforts for the restoration of good discipline in St. Paul's doubtless began early, though they did not culminate till the year before his death, in the articles he exhibited to Cardinal Wolsey in 1518.³ To understand these efforts better, and the necessity for them, we must try to dismiss from our thoughts the present cathedral, with all that belongs to it, and replace

¹ The references in this chapter made, for brevity, to "Dugdale," "Milman," &c., are to the second edition of Dugdale's "History of St. Paul's Cathedral" (1716), the second edition of Dean Milman's "Annals of St. Paul's" (1869), and Longman's "Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul" (1873). The references to "Registrum" are to the valuable "Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis," edited by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., in 1873.

² "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 24.

³ "Registrum," p. 237.

it by the St. Paul's of 1504. Instead of the classical pile of Sir Christopher Wren, we have to picture to ourselves a building in almost every respect unlike it. We see before us a Gothic structure—or, at least, of mixed Norman and Gothic, of imposing length and height. From east to west the total length was some 596 feet, “longer by sixty-six feet than Winchester Cathedral, the longest in the United Kingdom.”¹ Some may realize this better, if we add that its length was 100 feet more than that of Milan Cathedral; nearly 200 more than that of Cologne. Instead of the present dome, unrivalled as it is in a beauty of its own kind, we see a tower and spire, rising probably to a height of 460 feet; or, with its accompaniments of ball and cross and weathercock, to nearly thirty feet more. If those measurements be correct, the spire must have rivalled—possibly surpassed in height—even that of Strasburg, now reckoned the loftiest in the world; while it overtopped our own Salisbury by fully fifty feet, and Antwerp by still more.

Not all at once had the second cathedral, the one of which we speak, grown to these vast proportions. Begun just eight hundred years ago, the steeple was not finished till 1221, and the choir not till 1240. Fifteen years after this latter date, the “new work” of lengthening the choir began, which carried out the eastern limb so far, as to necessitate the taking down the parish church of St. Faith, and enclosing it instead within the crypt. It was not till the year 1283, or close upon two hundred years from its commencement, that the cathedral could be pronounced finished.² Three times after that it was attacked by fire, succumbing, as all know, in the terrible conflagration of 1666. But the first of the three seizures alone concerns us here, as alone occurring before Colet's time. On the 1st of February, 1444, “about two o'clock of the afternoon, the steeple of St. Paul's was fired by lightning, in the midst of the shaft or spire, both on the west side and on the south;” and though finally quenched “by the great labour of the Mayor and people that came thither,” the damage

¹ Longman, p. 29.

² *Ib.*, pp. 8, 9.

done was so great, that it was not completely repaired till 1462.¹

These few details are not altogether unimportant to our purpose. We may gather from them that, as the last great work of repair had been as recent as 1462, there might be no immediate cause for anxiety about the fabric to one appointed dean in 1505. This may explain the fact that we do not apparently find the condition of the building to have occupied much of Colet's attention. It may be reasonably supposed that a sufficient part of the vast sums derived from the offerings at the shrines was devoted to the maintenance of the structure,² to leave the mind of the dean free from solicitude in this respect. At the same time, the very vastness of the cathedral, and the accident of its mode of architecture, would tend to increase the burden of the decanal office, and to make the due care and oversight of it more difficult. From the mere circumstance of its covering so much space in the heart of a busy city,³ it would inevitably come to pass that people would be tempted to use it more or less as a thoroughfare. Just as in many country churchyards we see a way established across them, continuing the line of the village roads, so in the case of St. Paul's, first through the six-gated enclosure, and gradually through the sacred building itself, a custom of taking the shortest route would spring up.⁴ Moreover, the cathedral was then a place of resort for the citizens of London, not in their religious services only, but in their pageants and political demonstrations, to a degree we can now hardly realize. Paul's Cross, outside its north-east angle, where an octagon pavement now marks the site, was not merely a famous pulpit for the preacher, but the spot where royal edicts were promulgated, where kings were proclaimed, or

¹ Longman, p. 65, from Stow and Dugdale.

² See Milman, p. 153.

³ The walled enclosure extended westwards as far as Creed Lane and Ave Maria Lane, and northwards as far as Paternoster Row.

⁴ Even with the present limited area it is no uncommon sight to see the police turn back men carrying burdens when trying to cut off a corner by going through the enclosure round St. Paul's.

traitors denounced.¹ Accustomed thus to throng the outside spaces of their great cathedral, the multitudes were not likely to be restrained from surging in at its ever-open doors, though for purposes much more secular than prayer and praise. Yet once more, the want of any covered ambulatory for the use of the city merchants, whose rendezvous would seem to have been close by, would tend to drive them into St. Paul's, when inclemency of weather, or the desire of private talk, made them seek a more sheltered spot.²

From all these causes, we can understand how there had grown up a state of things so extraordinary, and in some respects so discreditable, that scarcely any satirist of London manners in the sixteenth century fails to allude to it. It is difficult, indeed, to select passages that are not trite and threadbare in reference to such a familiar subject as the profanation of St. Paul's. Perhaps a little less known to the reader than some others, are the following, from Edward Hake's "Newes out of Powles Churchyarde":³—

"In Powles forsooth they vse
To spende the day to make their mart
And hearken after newes."

And again, with a marginal note of "The Papistes walke in Powles," and "The walke is in the southe Ile,"

"Here in this Church a walck there is
Where Papistes doe frequent
To talke of newes among themselves
And oft the time is spent," &c.

Hake, it will be observed, gives a controversial turn to the

¹ Milman, p. 164.

² Before Sir Thomas Gresham built the Royal Exchange, as we now call it, in Elizabeth's time, the meeting-place for merchants seems to have been the "Old Change," the narrow street behind the east end of the Cathedral churchyard. This would become still more shut in when Colet's school was built in 1510.

³ Edited, with an Introduction, by Charles Edmonds, Lond., 1872. The original work, of which this is a reprint, was dated 1579, but there appears to have been an earlier edition of 1567. The passages quoted are on leaves F 2 and 3.

abuse. It was, however, a purely secular one. "It was the fashion of those times," says a writer of James I.'s reign,¹ "and did so continue till these, for the principall Gentry, Lords, Commons, and men of all professions not meereley Mechanick, to meet in Paul's Church by eleven, and walk in the middle Ile till twelve, and after dinner from three to six, during which time some discoursed of Businesse, others of Newes." The long nave with its central avenue, and the two side aisles with their rows of massive pillars, readily lent themselves to meetings and assignations of all kinds. Here a Bardolph could buy his master a horse, and here a Falstaff could provide himself with a servingman. The sound of so many voices, and the tramp of so many feet pacing the marble floor, must have gone far to make all services inaudible that might be proceeding at the time. As Bishop Earle describes it,² "The noise in it is like that of bees, a strange humming or buzz mixed, of walking, tongues, and feet; it is a kind of still roar or loud whisper."

Nor was this the worst. Beggars in their rags might be seen crouching asleep at the foot of the stone pillars. Over every door inside was an inscription which we sometimes see attached to the outside of our churches, and feel it degrading to read even there.³ The cloisters and immediate precincts had long been a lurking-place for bad characters of every description.⁴

Such were a few of the difficulties from without, with which a dean in Colet's time would have to contend. The difficulties arising from his own order he would find no less hard to overcome. The cathedral body was a large one. The Great Chapter consisted of not fewer than thirty canons, with the

¹ Francis Osborn, quoted by Longman, p. 47.

² "Microcosmography," ed. 1811, p. 116, quoted by Longman, p. 45. Besides the many illustrative passages cited by Longman, others are given by Edmonds in his Introduction to Hake's work above mentioned (pp. xix., xx.).

³ Dugdale, p. 57.

⁴ See the protest of Edward III., addressed to the Bishop of London in 1371. Edmonds, as above, p. xx.

bishop at their head. That this body of canons did not always regard the dean's interests as identical with their own, had been proved by a former attempt to exclude him from the meetings of the chapter, as holding no prebend.¹ Bishop Sudbury had settled this question by providing that the dean should also be a prebendary, as, in point of fact, we find that Colet held the prebend of Mora along with the deanery. The bishop, not then self-exiled to his manor of Fulham, still resided in his palace at the north-west extremity of the churchyard, where the name of London House Yard survives in evidence. And the Bishop of London in Colet's time was Fitz-James. Besides these, there were four archdeacons, a treasurer, a precentor, a chancellor; a semi-independent college of twelve minor canons; a large, but fluctuating number of chantry priests; the vicars, or deputies of the thirty greater canons, now represented by six vicars-choral; and a long retinue of subordinate officers,—sacrist, vergers, and servants of all kinds.²

Had such a body been animated by the spirit of a primitive Christianity, Colet might well have rejoiced at the prospect of coming to preside over it. But if his mind were filled with any dreams of the Hierarchies of Dionysius, they would soon be rudely dispelled. He came, obviously against the goodwill of the bishop, simply as the nominee of Henry VII. To the chapter he would be known as an Oxford theologian imbued with the new learning, of blameless life, but by all accounts of an innovating, unsettling turn. If he had been lecturing gratuitously all those years at the University, what would he not be likely to do, what would he not expect others to do, at St. Paul's?

It would be but a poor pleasure to try to disparage this

¹ Milman, p. 133. Among the Lansdowne MSS. is one (No. 364) containing collections relative to the cathedral, made apparently in Dean Winnif's time (1631-1660). One of the documents is a report of counsel's opinion being taken as to the *locus standi* of the dean in the deliberations of the chapter. The reply is that the dean had a voice in the chapter only by virtue of being a prebendary.

² "Registrum Statutorum," Introd., pp. xxi., sqq.

bygone generation of London clergy, or search for weak points in their not too impenetrable armour. No more, at any rate, need be said, than is necessary to show what a ceaseless struggle Colet's life at St. Paul's must have been, and how he bravely carried it on, almost single-handed, for fifteen years, till he sank, worn out with sickness of mind and body, at fifty-three.

One great cause of corruption in the cathedral society was the stream of wealth that was constantly pouring in. The offerings at one image alone, that of the Blessed Virgin, which stood against a pillar at the foot of Sir John de Beauchamp's tomb, were so large, that the bishop in 1411 had thought fit to claim his share of them. The very wax-tapers left burning in front of it by devotees were so numerous that the attendants, "having extinguished the light, carried them to a room below the chapter-house, and there caused them to be melted, to the use of the said dean and canons."¹ At a crucifix near the north door, also, the oblations were of such importance, that the claim of the dean and chapter to them had to be settled by the Pope's commissary in 1410.² The contents of the box attached to this crucifix, as they accumulated during the one month of May, 1344, are recorded to have been so much that, if it could be considered an average month, the yearly revenue from this source alone would have amounted, in our money, to £9,000.³ This was but one object of devotion. It is impossible to guess what may have been the sums offered at other shrines, at the high altar, and, above all, at the shrine of St. Erkenwald. Dugdale records one instance of a royal offering, that of King John of France, the prisoner of Edward III., who, in the year 1360, "laid down at the *Annunciation*"—the image of the Blessed Virgin before mentioned—"12 Nobles; at the Crucifix, near the North Door, 26 Floren Nobles; at his first approach to the High Altar, four basons of gold; and at the hearing of Mass, after the Offertory, gave to the Dean, then officiating,

¹ Dugdale, p. 21.

² *Ib.*, p. 22.

³ Milman, p. 153, and Appendix B.

five Floren Nobles, which the said Dean and one John Lyllington (the Weekly Petty-Canon) his assistant, had. All which being performed, he gave, moreover, in the Chapter-House, fifty Floren Nobles, to be distributed amongst the Officers of the Church." His previous offering at the shrine of St. Erkenwald had been twelve nobles.¹ If we take the noble as worth a third of a pound sterling, and adopt Milman's modulus of 15 to represent the value at the present time, the above sum in florins alone, without any notice of the gold plate, would answer to £525 of our money.

Of course, this was a king's offering. Such lavish donations would not come every day. But when we think of the very large common fund there must have been, not merely from these sources, but from commemorations, obits,² and the like, quite independent of the separate prebendal income of each canon, we cannot wonder that jealousies and dissensions should arise, or that the strife should sometimes wax keen, how many should be "residentiaries" and share the profits, or not. The contention about residence was a constantly recurring one, and it tended to exhibit the system in one of its worst and most humiliating aspects. But more will have to be said of this presently.

One other cause of trouble to a conscientious and unworldly-minded dean would be found in the presence of the large and ill-controlled body of chantry priests. At St. Paul's the number of chantries was extraordinarily large. As far back as Bishop Braybroke's time (1382-1405) they had had to be consolidated, and so brought down to forty-four united celebrations. But more continued to be added, until the temptation became strong to many an ill-paid clerk to

¹ Dugdale, pp. 23, 25. Milman, p. 152, I know not on what authority, makes the last-mentioned offering twenty-two, instead of twelve, nobles.

² The number of obits, or yearly commemorations of the death of persons leaving a bequest for the purpose, was 111. See Milman, p. 145, where it is calculated that the annual sum to be divided among the dean and resident canons from this source, over and above the payment of those who performed the services, would be equivalent to about £1,075 now.

act in the opposite way to Chaucer's "poure Persone of a toun." These Mass priests bore but an indifferent reputation. "The truth probably was," as Dean Milman puts it,¹ "that these rude and illiterate priests, more especially those without cure of souls, after the morning mass had much idle time on their hands, and no resort but the taverns or less reputable houses which they are said in many accounts to have haunted, and thus brought discredit on their better brethren, if such there were."

Much must needs be left untold. But even from the little that has been said, it will be manifest that Colet's life would be no easy one when called upon to rule over such a body of men, under such circumstances, and with his own superior officer, the bishop, first unsympathetic, and then avowedly hostile. It was not, we may be sure, till he had tried other ways, that he attempted to cope by new and more stringent statutes with the disorder and insubordination that prevailed. But it is convenient to speak of his efforts in this direction first.

There is printed in the "Registrum Statutorum" of St. Paul's a collection of statutes made by Colet, embodying, with many omissions, changes, and adaptations, the earlier ones of Baldock and Lisieux; and also a collection of *Exhibita* to Cardinal Wolsey.² It would seem as if Colet had at first endeavoured to get his own revision of the statutes accepted by the bishop and chapter, and, failing in that, had tried, as a last resource, to invoke the legatine authority of Wolsey. It is interesting, but disappointing, to learn, that

¹ P. 148. It is a bitter reflection that it should be true even at this day that thousands of young men employed in London have still, after business hours, practically "no resort but the taverns or less reputable houses."

² Reprinted by Dr. Simpson, with corrections, from the Appendices to Dugdale's "St. Paul's." The first of the two sets, which is apparently incomplete, occupies pp. 217-236; the latter, pp. 237-249. They are followed by a body of statutes (pp. 249-264), framed by Wolsey on the lines of Colet's presentments.

neither Colet nor Wolsey, nor, it may be added, Archbishop Warham, had power to enforce their statutes on the refractory chapter. From some memoranda, made by an unknown author, but plainly one of the cathedral clergy, in the early part of the seventeenth century,¹ we are informed that "Dean Nowell said to him on his admission, that Warham's and Wolsey's were no Statutes, and that, in taking his oath to observe the Statutes, he must separate the leaves containing these from the rest of the volume. . . . Colet's *Exhibita* were made, he said, by the Dean alone, 'then out with the Chapter,' nor were they true, nor fairly collected. Wolsey's Statutes were made by a stranger, not as the Pope's Legate, but by compromise; the Bishop of London's assent, and that of the Chapter, was not obtained to them; there was no seal attached, but only the Cardinal's hand." Other objections follow, but these are enough. They show that Colet's statutes, as well as Wolsey's made at his instance, never become law within the cathedral, but remained from the first a dead letter. The chapter hated to be reformed, and reformed they were not.

As it has been said that Colet's ordinances embodied in a greater or less degree the earlier and accepted ones, it becomes a matter of interest to note how much he added that was new—how far, in short, the proposed new code bears the imprint of his own individual character.²

One of the first passages that may strike the eye is the 24th section, headed, *Of the Canons in general, and whence the name of Resident first arose*.³ For some things, it would seem

¹ Dr. Simpson's "Introduction," p. xlix.

² It is a pity that the points of difference between what is old and what is Colet's have not been more exactly noticed. Dean Mansel's comment was that Colet had given the substance of the older statutes, but not their language ("Registrum," Introd., p. xlvii., n.). That is true, but stops short of the important fact. Dean Milman ("St. Paul's," p. 142, n.) quotes, as if it were part of the regular statutes, the ordinance, characteristically proposed by Colet, but never accepted, about the vergers being unmarried men.

³ "Registrum," p. 228: "Cap. 24. De Canonicis in generali," &c.

as if this section were meant to be introductory to the whole. There is no mistaking the hand of Colet in it. We might imagine ourselves reading his comments on Dionysius, as we come upon such impetuous exclamations, strange in statutes, as "*Sed iterum exclamo, proh scelus!*" and again, "*O scelus nefandum! O detestanda iniquitas!*" In this preamble, if such we may call it, Colet traces the origin of the terms *canon* and *residential*, with some bitter animadversions on the kind of *residence* he saw around him. "So deformed¹ are they now," he writes, "in every respect, both in life and in religion, that the Residentiaries themselves at length need reformation, no less than the Canons did in days gone by. . . . They cast aside their care for the Church; they pursue their own private gains; they convert the common property to their own private use. In these unhappy and disordered times *residence* in the Cathedral is nothing else than seeking one's own advantage, and, to speak more plainly, robbing the Church and enriching oneself."

The old statutes treat of the canons in many separate enactments—their emoluments, their absence, their illnesses, and the like;² but it hardly need be said that there is nothing of this indignant invective to be found in them.

With respect to the great abuse spoken of before, the profanation of the cathedral by making it a place of common resort for idlers and traffickers, Colet could not add much to the strong enactments already directed against the practice in the old statutes.³ But he repeated the charge to the vergers in different words. Beggars lying asleep, unsightly objects in the cathedral, or interrupting with their importunities those at prayer, are, as before, to be ejected.⁴ The curious custom of minstrels playing "undevoutly" before the great north cruci-

¹ This word alone would almost stamp the composition as Colet's. See his "Sermon before Convocation."

² "Registrum," pp. 33, 60, sqq.

³ *Ib.*, p. 79. If the threat of excommunication had no terrors, the ministers of the cathedral were to seize upon the merchandise presumptuously exposed for sale, and throw it out upon the pavement.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 224-5, compared with p. 72.

fix and the image of the Virgin,¹ had either died out in his time, or he did not consider it worth a prohibition; at least there is not, I think, any notice of the practice in his ordinances. But while thus much is common to the old statutes and the new, there is added, under the head of *Virgiferi*, a concluding paragraph,² which is Colet's own:—

“Furthermore,” he continues, “since the married state is oftentimes one full of business and disturbance, and since married men must needs attend to their wives, as mistresses, and our vergers, distracted by the anxieties of married life, neglect their duty in the Church, or else perforce abandon it (*since no man can well serve two masters*); therefore it is decreed, &c. . . . that from henceforth none shall be in any wise vergers in St. Paul's, save such as pass their lives in celibacy without wives, and keep continent. . . . Moreover, let an unmarried man be preferred to this office before a widower, other things being equal; for it is fitting that those who approach so near to the altar of God, and are present at such great mysteries, should be wholly chaste and undefiled.”

It will be painful to many, though it will give satisfaction to others, to read these words of Colet. But they are at any rate in keeping with what the author of the “*De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ*” had written, and they were never belied by the personal life of one who, in Erasmus's words, “So far as I could gather from my intimate acquaintance and conversations with him, kept the flower of chastity even unto death.” That such austere enactments were not accepted we are not surprised to learn.

Time would fail us in attempting to analyse Dean Colet's statutes at length. Two points only shall be further specified. One refers to the vicars or deputies of the canons.³ After reciting that in former times they had been thirty in number—one for each of the major canons—Colet goes on to lament that both the number and the mode of living had been

¹ “*Registrum*,” p. 72.

² *Ib.*, p. 225: “*Præterea, quia res uxoria*,” &c.

³ *Ib.*, p. 234, compared with pp. 67, 104, and other sections of the older statutes on the same subject.

changed. Now they had dwindled to six, "and those, too, either married, or capable of being so." The direction follows that those who are appointed to the office shall, "above all things, be such as desire to live well, to keep a good character, to show an example of honest dealing, in St. Paul's." And then it is added, that the vicars "are not to be proctors, or attorneys, or executors of wills, or to undertake any other office that may draw them away and estrange them from divine service." Here, as in other ways, it was Colet's object to bring back the officers of his cathedral to their proper duties, and to keep them there. We can trace the same design, expressed in almost the same words, in his School Statutes, in which he forbids his masters to "take office of Sectorshipp (executorship) or proctorshipp, or any such besyneses whiche shall let theyr dylygence and theyr necessary labour in the Scole."¹

The other point to be noticed is the change in the qualifications to be required of the grammar master. Both in the old statutes and in the new there is a section about the master of grammar, as well as about the master of the singing school. In both cases the appointment rests with the chancellor of the cathedral. But while, under the old statute, no qualification is required of the one so appointed, beyond being a Master of Arts, and no duty is enjoined more arduous than that of making out the bills of service, and keeping the children's school-books,² under the new, something far beyond this is sought for. "The master of the grammar school," so Colet's enactment runs³ :—

"Should be an upright and honourable man, and of much and well-attested learning. Let him teach the boys, especially those belonging to the cathedral, grammar, and at the same time show them

¹ For the offices in question, see Hale's "Precedents and Pleadings" (1847), Introduction, p. xxxi. In the sense of a "collector," the word "Proctour" occurs several times in the Statutes of the Guild of Jesus. See the "Registrum Statutorum," p. 445.

² "Registrum Statutorum," p. 23.

³ *Ib.*, p. 226.

an example of good living. Let him take great heed that he cause no offence to their tender minds by any pollution of word or deed. Nay more, along with chaste literature, let him imbue them with holy morals, and be to them a master, not of grammar only, but of virtue."

What a light does this short statute throw on the foundation of St. Paul's School. No date is attached to this revised code, though the *Exhibita* which follow are, as was said above, dated 1518. But we cannot doubt that what Colet embodied in this section had been present from the first to his mind. If he could have obtained such teaching for the cathedral school, and seen his earnest wishes carried out, there might indeed have still been a famous St. Paul's School, but it would have been the school of the Cathedral of St. Paul, left without a rival so far as Colet was concerned. In this, as in other directions, his endeavours were thwarted. He had tried to restore the discipline of his clergy by laying down equitable rules for residence; by shaming them, so far as burning words could do, out of their worldly and covetous spirit; by restricting the pursuits in which their time and energies were squandered; and, finally, by a higher standard of training for the young. He failed—if the failure is to be called his, and not theirs. His statutes remained a dead letter, and a later dean could fold down the leaves containing them, and declare that they were no statutes. But some power may survive in them even yet.

It was not, however, on the restraining force of statutes that Colet placed his only, or even his chief, reliance for the amendment of life and manners within St. Paul's. He knew, for he had proved at Oxford, the power which lay in preaching and expounding God's word to influence those about him for good. And from the pulpit of St. Paul's a voice was now heard before which the "still roar" of the ever-moving multitude was hushed. "What was a novelty there," says Erasmus, "he began preaching at every festival in his cathedral, over and above the special sermons he had to deliver, now at court, now in various other places." If it sounds strange to us to

hear of preaching in the cathedral at every festival (including, of course, Sundays as *feriæ majores*) being a "novelty," we must endeavour once more to shut out from view the cathedral system as we now know it, and to replace the picture by one of that which existed nearly four centuries ago. St. Paul's was a church of secular canons. The succession of divine offices at the stated hours of prayer would fill up a great portion of the day. Even as late as 1598 prayers were said at five o'clock in the morning in summer, and six o'clock in winter.¹ It was no part of the office of the dean, nor, indeed, of any of the canons, as such, to preach. In the old statutes there are many enactments in which the duties of the dean are set forth. His place in the choir, in processions, in the bishop's presence; the part he is to take in celebrations; his authority over other members of the body; the visits he is to pay to the cathedral estates; the formalities with which he is to admit new members into the society—all these and many other matters are minutely prescribed.² But of any obligation on his part to instruct the people by preaching from the pulpit not a word is said.

To some extent the need of such instruction was recognized, and had long been provided for. A divinity lectureship had been founded from an early time, and attached to the office of chancellor of the cathedral. Still more in the spirit of modern ideas, an appointment is recorded to have been made, in 1281, of a special preacher, to hold office from Michaelmas in that year to the same period in the year following, with a prospect of the appointment being continued. In the deanery of Thomas de Ingaldesthorp (1277-1283), an ordinance was drawn up by which the office of preacher was assigned to Richard de Swinefield, archdeacon of London.³ The language employed is worth attention:—

"Considering," the ordinance runs, "among the other things pertaining to the welfare of a Christian people, that both the doctrine of

¹ See the "Registrum Statutorum," p. 272.

² *Ib.*, pp. 182-3.

³ *Ib.*, p. 188.

Holy Writ for the clergy, and the food of God's Word for all in common, will be in the highest degree needful ; and furthermore weighing thoroughly with keen observation that we have been in diminished esteem both with the clergy and the people of the city, and that the affection, and liberality, and resorting of the same citizens towards our church aforesaid and towards us have long been growing cold apace, by reason that we have not had from among ourselves a suitable teacher and preacher in Holy Writ, but have been constrained to beg the help of others in these matters, with loss of our own honour and repute : we have therefore, after prudent deliberation, unanimously granted leave to our venerable brother, Master Richard de Swinefeld, archdeacon of London, an approved theologian and gracious preacher, for a full year from this feast of St. Michael, 1281, to preside in person in our divinity schools,¹ at suitable times, and to preach before us when occasion shall serve."

In consideration of this duty, the document goes on to say, the preacher was to be released for the time from attendance at some of the canonical hours.

How long this well-intentioned plan was carried out, I am not aware. But certainly, when Colet was appointed to the deanery, there was no systematic preaching, or lecturing in divinity, either to the people at large, or to the cathedral clergy themselves. One little incident brings this fact prominently forward. During Colet's tenure of office, a presentment was made to the bishop, Fitz-James, by "certain ministers of the aforesaid St. Paul's, men of pious and devout minds," that whereas in former times a divinity lecture had been founded in the cathedral, and endowed with the vicarage of Ealing, to benefit the ministering clergy of St. Paul's, and

¹ "Ut . . . in theologia . . . regat actualiter in scholis nostris." The expression is an academic one. *Regere*, like the French *régenter*, meant originally to preside, or moderate, at a scholastic discussion, and then, more generally, to be a professor, or teach. See Littré, under the word *régenter*. Considering what members would form the divinity school of St. Paul's, it might naturally be intended that they should follow to some degree the practice of a divinity school at the University. As a professor of theology, the one appointed to this office is called a "doctor in sacra pagina," in respect of his instructions to the clergy ; and this "doctrina sacræ paginæ" is the "doctrine of Holy Writ" mentioned above.

all the clerks and others residing in London, or daily flocking to it; yet now, of late years, this office had been left neglected, so that, if perchance such lectures had been delivered for a few days in one year, they would then be abandoned for several years together, and were, in fact, so left in abeyance at the present time.¹

It is easy to guess whose hand was at work in thus getting the conservative bishop to stir in the matter. But the curious feature in it was the plea put forth as an apology by the chancellor of the cathedral, Dr. William Lichfield, who was by his office the divinity lecturer in question. It was that, by the statute, he was required to lecture *continue*, and that as no human being could so lecture, he had therefore given up the task altogether.² We can understand the feelings with which this worthy man, appointed to a prebend just twenty years before Colet, and now therefore well on in life, would regard such a recall to his duties. In the end a compromise was effected, that the lecture should be delivered three times a week, with exemptions for saints' days. But we cannot wonder if, before long, Colet was "out" with his chapter.³

It is true that about the time of Colet's appointment to the deanery a course of divinity lectures of a certain kind had been delivered in St. Paul's. Grocyn had lectured there, about 1503, on the "Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Dionysius," and had had a large audience.⁴ If Colet were not appointed

¹ See the "Registrum Statutorum," pp. 413-15, where Bishop Fitz-James's ordinance, founded on this complaint, is printed at full. It does not appear to be dated.

² "Comperimus quod propter verbum *continue* in ordinacione et fundacione ipsius lectionis insertum, Cancellarius . . . illud onus sufferre et sustinere omisit, nimis grave et summe durum reputans," &c.—*Ib.*, p. 413.

³ That these divinity lectures were not looked on as very attractive even in 1598, we have evidence from the answers returned at the first visitation of Bishop Bancroft, where it is stated that "but few of the petty canons do come to the divinity lecture in term time . . . and the vicars are seldom there. We do not know whether we are by statute bound to be there."—*Ib.*, p. 273.

See the "Declarationes" of Erasmus (1532), p. 264. Erasmus says, "ante triginta annos," which, if correct, would fix the date as above.

till 1504, this would, strictly speaking, have been in the time of his predecessor, Sherborne. But when we think who the lecturer was, Colet's friend at Oxford, and what the subject was—a favourite one with him—it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the proceeding was in some way connected with Colet. During part of 1503 and 1504, as was said before, Sherborne was absent on an embassy to Rome, and it is possible that Colet may have been called upon to fulfil some of the duties of an office likely soon to be vacated before his actual appointment.¹ However this may be, it was doubtless to the same motive, that of supplying the deficiencies of such men as Dr. Lichfield, that we may assign the encouragement Colet gave to the Carmelite, John Sowle, who died in 1508, and was buried in the convent of the White Friars. As it is recorded that he was “a great esteemer of St. Paul,” leaving behind him a number of sermons on the Apostle's writings, and was, moreover, very intimate with Colet, it is probable, though not actually so stated, that his preaching was heard in St. Paul's.² That of another learned divine, John Major, or Mayor, certainly was so; and so far were his sermons from being thought a weariness, as in the later days of Bishop Bancroft, that he “used to expound St. Paul's Epistles *twice a day*, in the midst of a large circle of learned clergy, by whom his coming was eagerly looked for.”³ It is to be added, that these lectures of Mayor's were gratuitous, the expense of them being borne by Colet.

But all such supplementary efforts as these were of small account compared with what was done by the dean himself. Twenty years before he had been preparing himself for the

¹ Something of this kind seems to be implied in the epitaph on Colet's monument, where it is stated that he “administravit 16 [annos].” As he died in 1519, this would be an obvious error, if he had no connection with the cathedral till 1505. See “Oxford Reformers,” p. 138, n.

² See Bale, quoted in Knight's “Life,” p. 62, n.; and Wood's “Athenæ,” i., p. 12.

³ Bernard Andreas, “Historia Henrici Septimi,” ed. by Gairdner, 1858, p. 105. This was in 1508, one of the years of the sweating sickness, when prayers were publicly offered up in St. Paul's to avert the scourge.

preacher's work. Even during his Italian tour, he had kept that object steadily in view. "The English nation has poets," wrote Erasmus, "who have done among their own countrymen what Dante and Petrarch have done in Italy. And by the study of their writings he perfected his style, preparing himself, even at this date, for preaching the Gospel." At a time when English prose could hardly be said to have any existence, the future author of the "Life of Edward V." being yet but a boy, Colet had taken the best materials that were at hand for forming a nervous and forcible English style. In the long-drawn moralities of Gower, and, far more, in the pithy common sense and shrewd observation of Chaucer, he would find a store of practical wisdom, and catch the tone in which to speak to the hearts of the people. If he were at Florence, as all probability tends to make us conclude that he was, he could not have failed to hear Savonarola, and to catch something of his fervour, without his fanaticism. How suddenly his spirit would kindle into animation, when any topic that interested him was started, Erasmus has told us. His mien and stature were dignified and commanding, such as would befit the sacred orator.¹ All these qualifications would help to make his words in the pulpit words of power. But, above all, he was intensely in earnest. What Erasmus relates of Vitrier, the Franciscan of St. Omer, whose portrait he makes the companion one to that of Colet, would be equally true of the latter. "I once asked him," says Erasmus of Vitrier, "what his way of mental preparation was, before going up into the pulpit. He answered, that it was his custom to take up St. Paul, and to spend the time reading him, till he felt his heart grow warm. He would continue thus engaged, with the addition of fervent prayer to God, till warned that it was time for him to begin." No otherwise, we may be sure, would it be with Colet. In one respect,

¹ In Miss Yonge's story, "The Armourer's Prentices," justice is done to the power of Colet's preaching, but the authoress misinterprets the "*corpus elegans et procerum*" of Erasmus's description when she calls him "a *small*, pale old man."

indeed, he changed, as time went on, and thought less than before of his first great subject of study, the Epistles of St. Paul. But it was not that he prized them less in themselves; he had only learned to prize something else still more. "He set a very high value," says Erasmus, "on the Apostolic Epistles; but he had such a reverence for the wonderful majesty of Christ, that the writings of the Apostles seemed to grow poor by the side of it."¹ The change, if it was one, lay in advancing from the disciple to the Master. Hence, if he preached Paul at Oxford, he preached Christ in London, though truly he preached Christ in both. And in doing so, says his biographer, in the account so often quoted,² "he would not take isolated texts from the Gospels or Apostolic Epistles, but would start with some connected subject, and pursue it right to the end in a course of sermons; for example, St. Matthew's Gospel, the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer." This was the point caught by his friend Lily, when he penned his epitaph:—

"Qui toties magno resonabat pectore Christum,
Doctor et interpres fidus evangelii."

And in the next couplet he gives what was a powerful cause—perhaps the most powerful cause—of his influence, the eloquent example of a blameless life:—

"Qui mores hominum multum sermone disertio
Formarat, vitæ sed probitate magis."

He who had gone even beyond St. Bernard in saying that "a bad life was the worst heresy,"³ did not give the lie by his own conduct to his words; so that, as a writer in the next century expressed it, "this great Deane of St. Paul's taught and lived like St. Paul."⁴

¹ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 37.

² *Ib.*, p. 25.

³ See the passage from St. Bernard, quoted by Waterland, with his criticism on Colet's use of it, in his "Works" (Oxford, 1843), iii., p. 686.

⁴ Donald Lupton, "History of the Moderne Protestant Divines," 1637, p. 209.

And so we are not surprised that Colet's sermons should at once become felt to be a power in London, or that "he used to have a crowded congregation, including most of the leading men both of the city and the court."

Quite incidentally, we have glimpses of poor Lollards, or persons otherwise suspected of heresy, frequenting his preaching. One John Butler, giving evidence in a trial for heresy in Bishop Longland's diocese of Lincoln, "detects" one Thomas Geffrey, for that he "caused this John Butler divers Sundays to go to London to hear Dr. Colet."¹ Another accused person, John Lambert, in his answer to the bishop's articles in 1538, declares how, in the council spoken of in the Acts (v. 34), "among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together did arise a certain man called Gamaliel—a pitiful thing, verily, to see but one good man in such a convocation or council of priests, that should be the lights of virtue to all the people—which Gamaliel was a doctor of the law, and had in good repute among the people; much like he was, as seemed to me, to Dr. Colet, sometime Dean of Paul's in London, while he lived."²

But Colet had other hearers very different from these. Among them was the rising lawyer, Thomas More, then about six and twenty. There is extant a letter of his to Colet, written apparently in 1504, the year before his marriage, which sets in an interesting light the relation between

¹ Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" (Townsend's edition), vol. iv., p. 230.

² *Ib.*, vol. v., p. 217. It may seem strange, after this, to find in another passage of the same work (vol. v., p. 648), under the head of "Persecutors and Judges," the name of Dr. John Collet, Dean of Paul's, along with those of Archbishop Warham, Tonstall, Sylvestre, Wells, and others. The fact should in any case not be ignored, as stress was laid upon it by the late Dr. Robert Vaughan, in his "Revolutions in English History," vol. ii., p. 107, n. The truth may probably be, that Colet was placed on the commission by reason of his official position, just as, in 1512, he and the Bishop of London were commissioned by Henry VIII. to examine, one or other of them, with the assistance of four doctors of physic, the qualifications of those who wished to practise medicine in London. We are not to infer that he took any active part in the work.

him and the dean at this eventful period of his life.¹ As More was one day walking about the law courts, he met Colet's servant ; and, learning from him that his master, who was away in the country,² was not expected home for some time, he wrote a letter for the man to take back. In this, after some slightly rhetorical description of his loneliness at being so long without his spiritual guide and teacher, he goes on to compare the city with the country, and to say that he can hardly wonder at Colet's absence :—

“Even the very houses somehow intercept a great part of the daylight, and shut out the open view of the sky. It is not the horizon, but the line of roofs, that bounds the expanse above. And so I feel the more indulgence for you, if you are not yet tired of the country. For there you see simple-minded folk, unversed in the wiles of the town. Wherever you turn your eyes, you are charmed by the smiling aspect of the fields, and refreshed by the pleasant coolness of the air, and delighted by the very sight of the sky. You see nothing there but the bounteous gifts of nature and traces of holy innocence. Still, I would not have you so captivated by these delights, as to be hindered from flying back to us as soon as you can. For, granting that you dislike the discomforts of the city, yet the country at Stepney (about which you are bound to be no less careful) will afford you no less advantages than that where you are now residing. And from there you can now and then turn aside into the city, where you have a great field for usefulness, as into an inn. For since people in the country are either mostly innocent by nature, or at any rate not ensnared in such great crimes, *any* physician may serve their turn.

¹ The letter is printed in Stapleton's "Tres Thomæ" (ed. 1689), p. 7. It is dated "Londini, 10 Novembres," that is, October 23rd, but with no mention of the year. As it seems to imply that the writer was still unmarried, and speaks of Colet as still holding the living of Stepney, which he resigned September 21st, 1505, Mr. Seebohm, who quotes some passages from the letter ("Oxf. Ref.," p. 148), infers that it cannot have been written in October, 1505, but must have been in October, 1504. This strengthens the presumption that Colet had been discharging the duties of dean since the spring of 1504, if not even in the latter part of 1503.

² It is not unlikely that Dennington in Suffolk, the rectory of which Colet held till his death, may have been the place here meant. See the description of it above, p. 117.

But in the city, both on account of its great size, and of the inveteracy of its diseases, it will be idle for any but the most experienced physician to approach it. At times there certainly do come into the pulpit of St. Paul's men who promise us health. But when you think how finely they have rounded off their discourses, their life is so at variance with their words, as to irritate rather than assuage your malady. For, when they are themselves the most sick of all, they will not easily persuade men to believe that they are fit persons to have the care of other people's sicknesses committed to them. And so, when people perceive that their diseases are being treated by men whom they see to be one mass of sores, they at once chafe and kick against it. But if, as natural philosophers maintain, that physician above all is suited for restoring health in whom the patient has the greatest confidence, who can doubt that no one could be a greater health-bringer than yourself for the cure of our citizens at large? How contentedly they suffer their wounds to be dressed by you, what confidence they have in you, how obedient they are, you have both had proof enough yourself before now, and the way in which you are now missed and eagerly looked for by all is an evidence. Pray come then, my dear Colet, both for the sake of your Stepney, which mourns your prolonged absence as much as infants do that of a mother, and for that of your native city, which you are bound to care for as much as for parents. Lastly (though this should be the least weighty consideration of all in bringing you back), let a regard for me have influence with you, who have given myself wholly up to you, and am anxiously expecting your return. Meanwhile I shall be spending my time in the company of Grocyn, Linacre, and my friend Lily; the first, as you know, the sole director of my life in your absence; the second, my tutor in study; the third, the beloved sharer in all my concerns. Farewell.

"London, October 23rd."

This letter, besides being interesting, as was said, from the light it throws on the relations between More and Colet at this period, shows us how closely this group of learned men was now associated together. Erasmus, one leading spirit of the band, was indeed abroad, leading a struggling life in Paris or in Flanders. But Grocyn was in London, previous to his removal to Maidstone, where he was to become master of the College of Allhallows. Linacre, who had been appointed

joint-tutor with Bernard André to the ill-fated Prince Arthur, and who still shared with Giovanni Battista the office of court physician to Henry, was attending more closely to his own professional studies since the death of his royal pupil. Lily, contemplating the priesthood, was, or had been, lodging with More in the Charterhouse.¹ All these formed a united band, linked together by many ties of common pursuits and common aspirations. And when we find More—unquestionably the ablest of the London group—thus writing to his absent friend Colet as the one whom they all looked to as their spiritual physician, it must raise our opinion, if aught were wanted to do so, of the greatness of the position Colet held.

On three occasions Colet's power and faithfulness as a preacher were signally put to the test. One of these was the assembling of Convocation in 1511-12, when he had to preach the opening sermon. The second was the setting forth of an expedition against France, on the eve of which, on Good

¹ "Meditabatur adolescens sacerdotium cum suo Lilio. Religionis enim propositum ardentius desiderans, Minoritarum institutum arripere cogitabat."—Stapletoni "Tres Thomæ," *ubi sup.*, p. 7. "After which time he gave himself to devotion and prayer in the Charterhouse of London, religiously living there without vow about four years."—Roper's "Life of More" (ed. 1822), pp. 5, 6; Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," p. 146. Lily was Grocyn's godson, and was remembered by him as such in his will, proved July 20th, 1522. His own daughter was called Dionysia, a somewhat singular name, which inclines one to think that it might have been given her as a memento of the favourite author of Grocyn and Colet, on whom Grocyn was lecturing at St. Paul's about 1502 or 1503. If it could be shown that the child was born then, this would become more probable. Unfortunately the dates in connection with the Lily family are uncertain. George Lily, the eldest surviving son of the grammarian, gives none in the short biographical sketches left by him. But as Dionysia Lily married Ritwise, who succeeded his father-in-law in the mastership of St. Paul's School, on the death of the latter in 1522, such a date is not unlikely. This would incline us to suppose that Lily was already married at the time when More's letter to Colet was written. If so, he could hardly have been then sharing lodgings with More, as Seebohm infers. The expression applied by More to Lily, "*charissimo mearum rerum socio*," may refer only to their common tastes and pursuits, of which their joint translation of Greek epigrams was an instance.

Friday, 1513, Colet preached before the king and court. The third was the installation of Wolsey as cardinal, in 1515, when a like office fell to his lot in Westminster Abbey. But these great sermons must be treated of separately hereafter. The first, though delivered in St. Paul's, and therefore coming strictly under the head of Colet's work in his deanery, is of such intrinsic importance as to deserve a section to itself. The other two were delivered outside the cathedral walls, and we may therefore leave them on one side for the present.

But it was not by sermons alone, any more than by statute enactments alone, that Colet sought to raise the tone of collegiate life in the society around him. Partly from principle, and partly, no doubt, from a natural indifference to the pleasures of the table,¹ he brought the traditional hospitality of the deanery within more decorous limits. This may have been one secret of his unpopularity with a part, at least, of the cathedral clergy. "They were every now and then complaining," wrote Erasmus,² "of being treated as monks." The traditions of a lavish hospitality had come down from the time when, as a learned canon of St. Paul's has said, "great men, English and foreign, were entertained at great cost; kings and foreign prelates were received with solemn processions, in which, from time to time, the city joined the church, and great holy days were kept *coronata civitate*, the streets being hung with garlands."³ In a corporate body, where a certain amount of living in common was prescribed by the collegiate character of its foundation, and where the increase of wealth and the growing importance of its position in the centre of London formed a constant tempta-

¹ "He would partake sparingly of one dish only," says Erasmus, "and be satisfied with a single draught or two of ale. He was abstemious in respect of wine; appreciating it, if choice, but most temperate in the use of it."—"Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 31.

² *Ib.*, p. 40. For the use of the term *orientale monasterium*, applied by Erasmus to St. Paul's, see the note there.

³ Radulphi de Diceto "Opera Historica," edited by Dr. Stubbs (1876), Preface to vol. i., p. lxix.

tion to sumptuousness and display, we can understand how the open table, maintained by the dean or some residentiary canon,¹ might come to be a pretext for lavish ostentation, or, on the other hand, be felt as a vexatious burden.

What the line taken by Colet was, let Erasmus again tell. "The dean's table," he says, in the often-quoted letter to Justus Jonas, "which in former days had ministered to luxury under the guise of hospitality, he brought within the bounds of moderation. For, having done without suppers entirely for some years before, he was thus free from company in the evening. Moreover, as he dined rather late, he had fewer guests on those occasions as well; and all the fewer, because the repast, though neat, was frugal, and the sitting at table short, and, lastly, the conversation such as to have no charms but for the good and learned. When grace had been said, a boy would read aloud, in a clear, distinct voice, a chapter from St. Paul's Epistles, or from the Proverbs of Solomon. He would then usually repeat some passage selected from the part read, and draw a subject of conversation from it, inquiring of any scholars present, or even of intelligent laymen, what this or that expression meant. And he would so season the discourse, that, though both serious and religious, it had nothing tedious or affected about it. Again, towards the end of the meal, when the requirements of nature, at any rate, if not of pleasure, had been satisfied, he would start some other topic; and thus bade farewell to his guests, refreshed in mind as well as in body, and better men at leaving than they came, though with stomachs not overloaded."

"*Stomachum minime cibis onustum!*" In this light touch of satire Erasmus shows us a good deal. He had probably made one of the party on many an occasion himself, and might have marked, with a twinkle of the eye, a guest here and there looking as if he would have been willing to forego

¹ The Sunday dinners given by the canon in residence to those ministers of the church who were in attendance on divine service were not discontinued till as recent a period as 1843. See the "Registrum Statutorum," Intro., p. xli.

something of the improving conversation for a more prolonged acquaintance with the viands set before him.¹

In dispensing with suppers—a practice of which Erasmus, by the way, did not approve²—Colet was like his old friend, Archbishop Warham. Indeed, the description left us of the order observed in the household at Lambeth so much resembles that given of the deanery, as to be worth noting. “Though at times,” we are told,³ “he numbered among his guests both bishops and dukes and earls, his dinner was always over within the hour. Amid all the splendid establishment which his high office demanded, he himself was singularly abstemious. Wine he seldom tasted. Even at seventy years of age he would usually drink the small ale they call beer, and that too very sparingly. And yet, though equally temperate in eating also, he had such a pleasant look, and such a cheerful way of talking, that he brightened up all the repast. . . . From suppers he either abstained altogether, or, if some intimate friends had chanced to arrive—among whom,” adds Erasmus, “I might count myself—he would sit to table, but would scarce taste anything on it. If no such friends presented themselves, he would spend the time allotted for supper in prayer and study.”

But if the dean's table was not as profusely furnished as some would have desired to see it, the money thus saved was

¹ The late Dean of Chichester shrewdly remarked on this subject: “It is not precisely what you do that gives offence, but an unhappy manner of doing it. Colet so conducted his reform as to excite against him all the underlings of his church. The dean found it more difficult to contend with the Cretan bellies of his petty canons, than to struggle with the Bæotian intellects of his opponents at Oxford.”—“Lives of the Archbishops,” 1868, vi., p. 289.

² In a letter to Lupset, written August 23rd, 1520, he gives him some sensible advice on the subject: “As to your wholly abstaining from suppers, after Colet's example, I do not approve of it, any more than I approved of it in his case. If you feel that at your age the bodily energies need curbing, you will effect this more successfully, in my opinion, by temperance in eating and drinking than by severe and prolonged abstinence.”

³ Erasmus, “Ecclesiastes,” lib. i.

not hoarded up to enrich a penurious host. We have already heard from Erasmus how all the revenues from his preferments were assigned by Colet to his steward for the expenses of his household. This household was enlarged by the residence in it of more than one youthful scholar whom the dean was bringing up in good learning. Thomas Lupset, the son of a goldsmith in St. Mildred's parish, Bread Street, was such a one. He may have attracted Colet's notice as one of the chorister boys, and, when his voice began to break, may have been kept by him with a view to the further prosecution of his studies. At any rate, Colet terms him "his scholar" in his will, dated 1519; and his subsequent career showed that he was not unworthy of the name. Though his life was cut short at the untimely age of thirty-two, he had made a name among the learned men of his day, and had filled the office of Humanity and Rhetoric Lecturer at Oxford, on the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey.

Another young scholar, who owed his early training to Colet's munificence, must have sat for the picture of Gaspar, in Erasmus's colloquy headed "*Pietas Puerilis*."¹ In that charming piece we have a conversation between Erasmus and a schoolboy whom he names Gaspar. The latter, for a youth of seventeen, is made to talk rather too much in the style of a "good boy;" but this is a reflection, if anything, only on the writer's art. The point to observe is, that he had been, at an earlier age, in Colet's household. "What Thales taught you that philosophy of yours?" asks Erasmus. "When quite a boy," is the answer, "I lived in the household of the excellent John Colet. He it was who imbued my tender age with such early precepts as these." It may, no doubt, be maintained that in a colloquy where some of the circumstances are

¹ That Erasmus could not have had Lupset in mind when he wrote this dialogue seems clear from his description of Gaspar's going through St. Paul's when on his way between school and his parents' house. Lupset's home lay eastwards from the school. Of course, this all depends on the assumption that the "*templum*" of the dialogue was the cathedral, and the "*ludus*" St. Paul's School.

probably fictitious, all may possibly be so. But there is much in the "*Pietas Puerilis*" that seems to point distinctly to a boy living for a while under Colet's tuition, as More lived in the household of Archbishop Morton, and afterwards attending the newly-founded St. Paul's School, on his way to which he loved to walk, when possible, through the cathedral, paying his devotions at one of the many shrines. On him, as on the more illustrious child of Colet's school who in a later generation wrote "*Il Penseroso*," we may picture the eastern rays streaming through the glorious rose window of the old cathedral, and bringing "all heaven" before his eyes.¹

Nor were these boys the only members of Dean Colet's household who experienced his bounty. Like all such men, he was well served by his retainers, and he rewarded them liberally. Several of them, including one who had left his service, he remembered by name in his will. For distribution among them collectively he left £50 sterling, equivalent to about £600 now. To one in particular, William Bowerman, he left an annuity of five marks (answering to about £40 a year now), and also, after the death of his aged mother, a property at Stepney, consisting of seven acres of pasture and four acres of other land. This William Bowerman was in all probability the one whom Erasmus speaks of as "*Gulielmus tuus*" in one of his letters to Colet, and therefore probably the same as the "*puer tuus*" whom More refers to, in the letter before quoted, as "ever dear to him."²

¹ Many of the sentiments put into Gaspar's mouth may be taken as reflecting the teaching of Erasmus, or of Colet himself. Such is the passage on which Seeböhm lays stress ("*Oxford Reformers*," p. 106): "*Ego, quod lego in sacris literis et in symbolo, quod dicitur, apostolorum, summa fiducia credo, nec ultra scrutor: cætera permitto theologis disputanda, ac definienda, si velint.*" It may be thought interesting to note that Gaspar's prayers, "*ut is, qui est vera lux, occasum nesciens,*" &c., and "*ut qui puer duodecim annos natus,*" &c., are in use at this day in St. Paul's School. They were included by Erasmus in his "*Precationes*," whence they were taken for that purpose.

² "*Quod hic ipse mihi semper charus extitit.*"—Stapletoni "*Vita Mori*" (ed. 1689), p. 7. Erasmus's letter is quoted by Knight, p. 87, n. Colet seems to have inherited this kindness for servants. Reference has

Thus beloved and honoured in his own household, though harassed by his bishop, and "out with his chapter," Dean Colet struggled on ; quietly rebuking intemperance of living by the sufficient but decorous hospitality of a Christian priest ; correcting abuses, so far as he had the power, by statutes which would have restored the old ideal of canonical life ; moving the hearts of men, far beyond the cathedral walls, by his stirring sermons ; and carrying out, so far as he personally could, one of the special objects for which the cathedral existed, the education of the young.¹

been already made to a letter written by him to Erasmus, in which he speaks of having been at Stepney with his mother, "to console her for the death of a servant of his own, who had died in her house, and over whose loss she mourned even more than if it had been her son." See above, p. 14.

¹ "Devotion, hospitality, education, were the chief occupation of the residents," says the Bishop of Chester, referring to the times of Radulphus de Diceto.—"Opera Historica," *ubi sup.*, i., p. lxix.

CHAPTER IX.

FOUNDATION OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

A St. Paul's (Cathedral) School already in existence.—What it might have become.—What it did become.—Revival.—Difficulty of always distinguishing the two schools.—“Children of Paul's.”—State of the Cathedral School a cause of Colet's foundation.—Magnitude of his design.—The number of the scholars.—The Governors.—The subjects of instruction.—The first High Master.—The Founder's ordinances.—His prayer for the School's welfare.

WE come now to the great work of Colet's life, the foundation of that school by which his name has been chiefly kept in memory. The importance of such a work will fail to be understood unless we bear in mind how ill-provided with schools London was at that time, and if London, certainly England at large, and also how poor and inadequate the education bestowed in most schools then was.¹ This ought not to have been the case, at least as far as the cathedral church of St. Paul was concerned. While in every diocese the mother church was required, from a very early period, to have its school, in the case of St. Paul's this school had not only existed and flourished, but had contained within itself the germs of a university. The bequests made to it by some of its earlier benefactors prove conclusively that much more than an elementary education was intended to be given, and that the design was for a body of young students to be trained under the fostering protection of the church, who might in due course be themselves ordained, or might enter, if they preferred it, one of the learned professions.

¹ See, for this subject, Erasmus's "Declamatio de pueris . . . instituendis," and other passages quoted in Appendix B. to the "Lives of Vitrier and Colet;" and compare above, pp. 8, 16.

There is extant, for example, a will made by one who was almoner of St. Paul's in the early part of Edward III.'s reign, William de Tolleshunte, a native, probably, of the parish in Essex so called. He died in 1329. By his will, made in the previous year, he bequeathed to the Almonry, for the use of the boys living and studying there, a library of books, which, though small in number according to our ideas, embraced all the main subjects of academic teaching. There was not only Priscian, "major" and "minor," and Isidore, and "all my grammatical books," but there were works on Logic, on the Aristotelian Physic, on Medicine, on Civil Law (including the Institutes, Code, and Digest), and on Canon Law. Some of these, it is directed, might be lent to boys showing an aptitude for scholarship, on leaving the Almonry, due caution being taken for their safe return; but all were bequeathed expressly for the use of the boys.¹

It is reasonable to infer from this, that the testator contemplated cases in which the "little clerks," after their voices had broken, and they had thus become disqualified for a time for

¹ "Registrum Eleemosynariæ D. Pauli Londinensis," f. 32, printed from a MS. in the Harleian Collection by the late Miss Hackett, London, 4to., 1827. I gladly take the opportunity of paying a passing tribute of respect to the memory of this brave and loyal-hearted Christian lady. For more than half a century she fought the battle of choristers' rights, not in London alone, but in many another cathedral city, in the days when those rights were all but extinguished, and when the state of public opinion on such matters may be inferred from its being thought decent for a Bishop of Lincoln or of Llandaff to be Dean of St. Paul's. Single-handed, with never-failing courtesy, but with indomitable perseverance, she pleaded the cause of her *protégés* with bishop after bishop, and residentiary after residentiary, and had at last the cheering sight of success attending her labours. On January 26th, 1874, the corner-stone of the new Choir School of St. Paul's was laid, and on the 5th of November following she breathed her last. Though the governing body of the cathedral so long turned a deaf or unwilling ear to her plea, she never forsook its services, and her name is commemorated by a tablet in the crypt. But if ever the walls of the new Choir School are adorned with the effigies of founders or benefactors, among the most honoured should be that of Maria Hackett.—For some interesting reminiscences of this "choir-boys' friend," see the correspondence in the "Musical Standard" of February 6th, 13th, and 20th, 1886.

the musical service of the cathedral, might remain to continue their studies. And the choristers, it must be remembered, were only a nucleus. There was an outer circle of probationers, and other boys directly connected with the cathedral services, and beyond them the citizens' sons who desired to partake of the like advantages. Other considerations point the same way. The early title of the Chancellor of St. Paul's, in whom was vested the control of all matters of education within the diocese, was *Magister Scholarum*, "Master of the Schools."¹ This term indicated that more than one school was attached to the cathedral. There was, as a matter of fact, not only the singing-school, held, according to the statutes of Baldock and Lisieux, in the church of St. Gregory, closely adjoining the cathedral;² there was also the Grammar School, the building for which appears to have stood, at one time, in or near Shar-moveres (now Sermon) Lane.³ And further, the *Magister Scholarum*, or chancellor, was himself to be either a doctor of divinity, or on the point of proceeding to that degree, in order that he might read divinity lectures in person to the students,⁴ among whom would naturally be included such persons as the "seniors," whom William de Tolleshunte speaks of having himself educated.

When we notice how something like this scheme of cathedral education was embodied in the act of Henry VIII. for reconstituting cathedral establishments, we are the more led to regard it as not in itself exceptional, but rather as a type, of what the cathedral school, as such, might fairly be expected to become.

Before, therefore, we turn to the foundation of Dean Colet's school, the question necessarily presents itself, why he should have gone out of his way to found a new school at all, when

¹ When he became known by the appellation of Cancellarius, this title passed to his deputy, the Grammar Master.

² "Registrum Statutorum," p. 22.

³ "Registrum Eleemosynariæ," *ubi sup.*, p. xlvii., n.

⁴ "Liber Pilosus" (Cathedral MS.), fol. 83, quoted by Miss Hackett. Compare also the "Registrum Statutorum," p. 188.

there was one, apparently with such capacity for development, under his own immediate control.

To answer this question properly, we should require to know much more about the history of the cathedral school than, unfortunately, it is in our power to do. The records preserved of it are few and scanty, and the confusion arising between its name and the name popularly given to the Coletine school, has thrown a cloud of obscurity about it. The reader will have the opportunity of exercising his own judgment as to which of the two schools is meant, from a few passages set down by way of example.

Before Dean Colet's foundation, and when accordingly there could be no doubt as to the school meant, we find a James Garnon, "Magister scholarum S. Pauli London," obtaining a licence to proceed Master in Grammar at Oxford in 1449.¹ Still later, in 1483, "one that was scholemayster at Paules" is mentioned in Hall's "Chronicle" as present at the proclamation of Richard III. concerning the death of Lord Hastings.² After that foundation, it is in many cases difficult to determine whether the old cathedral school, or the new Jesus School (as Dean Colet's should rather have been called),³ was the one intended.

Take, for instance, the case of Thomas Tusser, the author of the "Five hundred points of good husbandry." He is often assigned to Dean Colet's school on the strength of the lines :—

"From Paules I went, to Eaton sent,
To learne straightways the Latin phrase."

But here, at least, the point is settled by the preceding stanzas of the poem itself, which relate the author's early career as a choir-boy at Wallingford, his subsequent removal to St. Paul's Cathedral (when he was impressed for the cathe-

¹ Boase: "Register of the University," i., p. 3.

² P. 362 (ed. 1809), under "King Edward the Fifth."

³ See the extracts from the Statutes, quoted below. At the same time Colet himself calls it by its present name ("for the love and zeale that I have to the newe schole of Powles") in the "Proheme" to his "Accidence."

dral choir), and his progress in music under the organist, Redford.¹

Not so easy to decide is the next example, that of the chronicler William Harrison. In the account he gives of the royal mandate for the Litany to be sung in English in St. Paul's and other churches, on October 18th, 1544, he says, "and the children of Pawles schole, whereof I was one at that time, (were) inforced to buy those bookes, wherwith we went in generall procession, as it was then appointed, before the king went to Bullen" (Boulogne).² In this case, I should, though with considerable hesitation, refer the writer to Dean Colet's school, on the ground that it would not be likely that choir-boys would have to buy their own service-books.

Again, in the churchwardens' accounts for the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, for 1548, appears the entry:³—"Item payd to the Scolle Mr. of Polles for wrytyng of the masse in Englysh & y^e benedicites vs." The presumption in this case appears to be in favour of the cathedral school, both from the ecclesiastical character of the work performed, and from the fact that it was a special duty of the grammar master of the choristers to write out the bills or service-papers.⁴

In 1555, as we read in Hollingshead, "on Bartholomew even, after the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew Faire, they came to Christes Hospitall within Newgate, where they heard a disputation betweene the scholers of Paules Schoole, Saint Anthonies Schoole, and the scholars of the said hospitall." The chronicler goes on to say that the victor was a scholar of St. Anthony's, who had a silver pen worth 5s., and his master a present of 6s. 8d.; the second best being from St. Paul's. Here the cathedral school seems naturally pointed out, because its master was expressly

¹ Warton's "English Poetry," section liii.

² Harrison's "Description of England" (ed. by Furnivall, 1877), p. li.

³ "Accounts of the Churchwardens," &c., edited by W. H. Overall (1871), p. 67.

⁴ "Quod magister scholarum tabulam lecturæ scribat vel scribi faciat vice Cancellarii."—"Regist. Stat.," p. 78.

directed by statute to hold disputations in philosophy and logic at St. Bartholomew's on the day of that saint,¹ while Dean Colet in his statutes as expressly forbade the practice, so far as his own scholars were concerned. "I will they use no . . . disputing at saint Bartilmewes," is his language, "which is but folishe babling and loss of time."

Another case in which it is not easy to pronounce a confident opinion is that of the benefactions of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's from 1560 to 1602, and Dr. John Reston, a prebendary of the same cathedral, who died in 1551. By a composition made between the dean and chapter on the one hand, and Jesus College, Cambridge, on the other, in 1574-5, the former body relinquished all claim to certain property which came under a bequest of Dr. Reston, and the college granted them in return "the right of nominating to two of Dr. Reston's scholarships candidates chosen, from time to time, from St. Paul's School, or, in defect, from any other."² That the reference here is to the cathedral school seems to me probable from two or three slight considerations. (1) The dean and chapter would not look on it as a valuable privilege to be allowed to nominate to scholarships from a school with which they had no concern. (2) Dean Nowell is mentioned as having "enlarged the schools of St. Paul."³ He may very well have done this to his own cathedral schools (those of singing and grammar), but the expression would be inappropriate, and not justified by facts, in relation to Dean Colet's school. (3) If the Coletine school had ever enjoyed the benefit of such exhibitions, some record of it would certainly have been preserved.

Finally, the question who are meant by the "children of Paul's" in the frequent accounts of interludes, plays, &c., during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successors down to James I.'s time, is a complicated one, which there is not space to enter into here. It may suffice to say that there is evidence of their being sometimes taken from Dean Colet's school and

¹ "Registrum Statutorum," p. 78.

² Churton's "Life of Nowell," 1809, p. 226.

³ *Ib.*, p. 225, n.

sometimes from the other St. Paul's. In the instance related by Froude,¹ when, in 1527, the children of Paul's presented a mask before the king and the French ambassadors at Greenwich, the mention of Ritwise's name as their master sufficiently fixes them to the Coletine school. By parity of reasoning, the "children of Paul's" who acted before Elizabeth at Eltham, in the summer of 1559, must be assigned to the cathedral school, from the name of their master, Sebastian (Westcott).²

Without multiplying examples, it will appear, I think, that down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, at any rate, the existence of the cathedral school can be distinctly traced. It seems clear also that it had tended to become more and more a purely singing school, in which interludes and similar performances could be conveniently prepared, while the grammatical or literary side of the education given had not been equally sustained. In the former capacity it might help to furnish that "eyry of children, little eyases that cry out on the top of question," of whom Shakespeare makes Rosencrantz complain; but it would not produce the "seniors" of William de Tolleshunte. From the beginning of the Civil War less and less is heard of it,³ though there is still mention of the school-house in its ancient situation in the reign of Charles II.⁴ How the choir school declined after

¹ "History of England" (1858), i., pp. 70-73. Some strictures on this account will be found in "Notes and Queries" (2 ser., vol. ii., pp. 24, 28).

² Collier, "Annals of the Stage" (1831), vol. i., p. 172, n. The reader who may desire to pursue the subject will find abundant material in Collier, pp. 34, 159, 173, 190, 281, &c.

³ In the "Fifth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission" (Appendix, p. 111), there is noted an "application for a pass for Mrs. Mary Powell, wife of the schoolmaster of St. Paul's School, into Berkshire and back, with a manservant and maidservant, a coach and four horses and a saddle horse." The date is October 26th, 1643. But the occurrence of an Edward Powell, as surmaster of St. Paul's (Colet's) School from 1641 to 1647, shows which school was meant. See Mr. Gardiner's "Admission Registers," p. 36.

⁴ Lansdowne MS., No. 372, quoted by Miss Hackett, "Documents and Authorities," 1816, p. v., n.

this, till in the early part of this century it had practically ceased to exist, the boys repairing to the almoner's house in Craven Street, Strand, for their musical teaching, and having a master paid to instruct them in reading, writing, and arithmetic, is a painful story, which need not be retold here. Happily, our own day has seen a revival; and the present dean and chapter have honourably atoned, at least in a great measure, for the neglect of their predecessors.¹

The question why Colet did not throw his energies into the improvement or expansion of this once well-endowed school, rather than found an altogether new one, may now admit of a better answer. Without assuming any extraordinary degree of penetration in him, which might enable him to forecast the probable future of such a school, it is likely enough that there were circumstances connected with it which deterred him from any attempt to forward its development. One such circumstance there undoubtedly was, which alone might explain his abstention. The chancellor of his time, under whose immediate control the cathedral grammar school was placed, was no other than the Dr. William Lichfield, mentioned before² as the "*sacræ paginæ professor*," or divinity lecturer, who had made the charming excuse for reading no divinity lectures at all, that the statute ordered him to read

¹ In the new Choir School in Carter Lane thirty-six boys are admitted, and, in consideration of their services in the cathedral choir, "receive board and education free of all charges, parents having only to provide clothes, travelling, and pocket money." Boys are admitted at first on probation, between the ages of eight and ten. For this information I have to thank the late head master, the Rev. Albert Barff.

The inscription at the north-east angle of the building is as follows :—

"Ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis
& ad profectū sanctæ matris ecclesiæ
lapidem hunc angularem
domus in usum puerorum choristarum
Scti Pauli Londinensis ædificandæ
postridie festi conversionis Scti Pauli
MDCCCLXXIV
posuit R. G. Church Decanus."

² See above, p. 140.

continue, which no one could do, though the revenues of the vicarage of Ealing were set apart to the maintenance of this particular duty.

If even Fitz-James was driven to censure such "*incuria, culpa, desidia, et negligencia*" as this, in a contemporary of his own, how could Colet have got on with the obstructiveness of a man like Lichfield between his own ideal and the school he sought to work upon? If he had ever hoped that much could be made of the cathedral school, it is plain that he gave up any active endeavours in that direction.

And so, about the year 1509,¹ having come into considerable landed estates by the death of his father a few years before, he began the foundation of a school "in the east end of Paul's Church, for a hundred and fifty-three to be taught free in the same."²

The site fixed upon, at the east end of the cathedral enclosure, would no doubt be selected in the first instance from considerations of space, convenience of purchasing adjacent property, and the like. What was actually cleared away to make room for the school was a row of bookbinders' shops—poor buildings, as we may suppose, to stand so near the great cathedral.³ But it is instructive to notice that the east end of the churchyard was a great centre of city life. The folkmoles of the citizens had from ancient times been held there,⁴ and the Old Change, skirting the back, was the bourse of their

¹ Different years are assigned for the foundation by different writers, according as they fix upon some one or other particular event in a work which extended over a length of time. 1509 is the date given by George Lily. Hollingshead gives 1510; Stow 1512; and so on. See the passages quoted by Knight, pp. 92-8.

² Colet's statutes will be found printed at length in Appendix A.

³ We learn this from a passage in the "*Grey Friars Chronicle*," printed in vol. ii. of the "*Monumenta Franciscana*," p. 185. Speaking of the great storm on January 15th, 1505-6, which drove Philip the Fair into Weymouth Harbour, the writer says: "That same nyghte it blew downe the wedder-coke of Powlles stepulle the lengthe of the est ende of Powlles church vn-to the synce of the blacke egylle; at that tyme was lowe howses of bokebynderes wher nowe is the scole of Powles."

⁴ Milman's "*St. Paul's*," p. 27.

merchants. A building apparently used at some previous period for the cathedral school itself stood close by. For near the site, but standing crosswise to it, a little more to the south, was an old tenement known by the name of Paul's School, which Colet had not long before obtained "by gift, grant, and confirmation" from three members of the Mercers' Company, named Osyer, Digby, and Rice.¹ This would appear to be the "old ruined house" that Stow speaks of in his "Survey"² as replaced by Colet's new school. If such were its condition, it would explain the circumstance that it was rented for no more than £1 a year, while each of four shops underneath it fetched just as much. And this, joined to the fact of the building having been in lay ownership when Colet obtained it, would further indicate that it had not been used for a considerable period for the purpose its name would imply.³ At any rate, we are not to infer, from the existence of such a building bearing the name it did, that the cathedral grammar school had then been discontinued (a conclusion that would be contradicted by other facts), but merely, I suppose, that this "Grammar house" had at some

¹ See the "Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on . . . certain Colleges and Schools," 1864, vol. ii., p. 586. Its situation is shown on the plan following p. 461 of Mr. Gardiner's "Admission Registers."

² "Survey of London," 1598, p. 55.

³ Judging from Dugdale's account of a grant made by Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London from 1108 to 1128, it might be supposed that this old school or "Grammar house" (as it is elsewhere termed in Colet's endowment) was the identical dwelling known as the "habitation of Durandus," conferred by Bishop Belmeis on "Hugh the Schoolmaster" and his successors. Dugdale represents it as being "at the corner of the turret, *i.e. the Clochier or Bell-Tower.*" This would make it to have been at the east end of the cathedral. But the words in italics are an unauthorized addition by Dugdale himself; the expression in the grant being simply "in angulo turris." As Miss Hackett pointed out ("Registrum Eleemosynariæ," p. xxiii., n.), the tower in question lay to the south of the cathedral, being the Palatine Tower, or castle, destroyed by fire in 1087. Hence the situation of the schoolhouse referred to in the grant must have been near Carter Lane. Milman ("St. Paul's," p. 24) places it "at the corner of Bell Court," meaning, I suppose, Bell Yard, on the south side of Carter Lane.

time or other 'been used by the cathedral for purposes of education.

The large scale on which Colet planned his school is deserving of notice, no less than the liberality and foresight displayed in his ordinances. We are so accustomed to schools of several hundred boys each, and a staff of masters numerous in proportion, that an establishment of 153 boys and three masters may seem to us somewhat modest. And yet, even though it remained at this original number, St. Paul's was not the smallest of the nine public schools singled out by Lord Clarendon's commission more than twenty years ago. But at the time of its foundation such a number must have sounded imposing. Winchester had but seventy scholars, with sixteen choristers besides. Eton had seventy, and still fewer choristers. It is difficult to gather any certain information as to the number of boys contemplated in the schools founded before or about the time of St. Paul's. But an approximate estimate may be formed by observing the number of masters provided. By far the most usual number was two, a master and an usher. Colet gave his master the additional assistance of an under-usher, or chaplain, who "dayly as he can be disposid shall sing masse in the chapell of the scole, and pray for the children to prosper in good lyff and in goode litterature," and who also, if competent, should "helpe to teche in the scole, yf it shall seme convenient to the hye Maister."¹ There is an approach to this in the direction, found in the statutes of some nearly contemporary schools, as Manchester, that one of the upper scholars shall teach the "petties," or little ones, their A B C. But I cannot find evidence, so early as 1510, of any other school with so large a number as 153 boys in attendance, and three masters engaged in teaching them.

Why the number should have been fixed at 153 has been a subject of much conjecture. It is, of course, natural to think

¹ It will be noticed how Colet, while attaching a chaplain to his school, made provision for avoiding the besetting fault of that order of men (see Milman's "St. Paul's," p. 148), by assigning other work to be done when the special service in chapel was performed.

of the number of the miraculous draught of fishes in St. John xxi. 11. And if this were left simply as a probable opinion, there could be no objection to it. But since the late high master, Dr. Kynaston, made the subject almost classic ground by his poetic genius, the conjecture has been so assumed to be fact, that the reference to the text is stamped on the printed papers of the school, and a writer can publicly declare that "it is expressly stated that the number of the scholars is to be 153, 'according to the number of the fishes.'" ¹ This being the case, it is as well to ascertain what the truth of the matter is. The earliest writer, so far as has been ascertained, who makes any allusion to the number of the fish in this connection, is Fuller, whose own son was at St. Paul's. How naturally Fuller's imagination would seize on such a coincidence, need not be said. Whether there is any hint in Colet's statutes of such a reason, the reader can judge for himself. ² There is none, so far as I know, in any of his other writings. Wherever he makes any allusion to fishes, as he does several times in his "Expositions," it is to their dim-sighted or feeble nature. ³ Erasmus, writing to Justus Jonas in 1520, the year after the founder's death, gives an account of the school, and mentions that the number of the scholars was fixed "ad certum numerum," but does not add what the number was. George Lily, a son of the first high master, and Polydore Vergil, have both left what may be called contemporary accounts of Colet's foundation, but are equally silent on this subject. So are the chroniclers, as Grafton and Stow. On one occasion, where Lily, the first high master, writes to thank Polydore Vergil for a present of fish, it would have seemed natural to expect some reference to the subject, had it made any impression on

¹ See a communication in "Notes and Queries" (2 ser., vol. x., p. 254).

² See Appendix A.

³ Compare the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians," p. 21, where he speaks of those who are "swimming in this mundane sea, like mere fishes; who, with watery flesh, and feeble force, and unreceptive eyes, are in death rather than in life." So also p. 39: "Had they not eyes duller than the very fishes," &c. Compare also the second "Exposition of Romans," p. 130.

his mind. But the lines of his epigram¹ are not pointed by any such allusion. Curiously enough, the founder has left, in his own handwriting, a memorandum on the fly-leaf of a manuscript copy of his statutes,² in which the number 153 occurs:—
 “Of halidayes and halfe halydayes all noubred togyder in whiche ys no teachinge ther be yn the hole yere vii^{xx} and xiiij.”
 “Seven score and thirteene” make 153, the number to which, according to Colet’s calculation, the school holidays, including of course Sundays, amounted in the year.

As the number of scholars was thus large, so there was no restriction of locality. They were to be “of all nacions and countres indifferently.” In the preface to his “Accidence,” written a little later, Colet expressed the hope that his work might be “to the erudycion and profyte of chyl dren, *my countrey men Londoners specially.*” But though his patriotic wish may have been to benefit his fellow-citizens first and foremost, there was nothing to limit the advantages of his endowment even to them.

“Over the revenues, and the entire management,” Erasmus

1

“Polidoro Virgilio G. L.

Quos dederas nuper pisces, Polidore diserte,
 Munera vicinis grata fuere meis,
 In primisque mihi, qui nec persolvere grates
 Præmia nec potero reddere digna satis.
 Majorem non ulla lacus, non fluminis unda,
 Dulcia nec piscem stagna tulere parem.
 Appositus totas ingentes corpore mensas
 Squamiger implerat, prandia lata ferens.
 Multo namque magis mirabilis iste videtur
 Carpio natus aquis, o Polidore, tuis.”

The epigram is in vol. iv. of Stow’s “Historical Collections” (Harleian MSS. 540), f. 224. I have supplied *que* in line 3, which seemed wanted. *Carpio* in the last line is late Latin for a “carp.” I do not, of course, attach much weight to the inference from this piece. Lily might have alluded to the number of the fishes before. It will count for what it is worth.

² Now in the Library of the British Museum (Add. and Egerton MSS., S. 6274). For a description of it see the Introduction to the “Treatise on the Sacraments,” p. 3.

significantly adds,¹ "he set neither priests, nor the bishop, nor the chapter (as they call it), nor noblemen; but some married citizens of established reputation. And when asked the reason, he said that though there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in them." How well and faithfully, on the whole, the body of men thus indicated—the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Mercers—have discharged their task, it would not become me to relate. One single instance shall suffice, taken from the published evidences of the Charity Commission.

In the years 1746 and 1747 the Mercers' Company were compelled to apply to parliament for relief. They had incurred a heavy debt by having to bear half the cost of rebuilding the Royal Exchange, and other works, and had only increased their liabilities by a scheme for granting annuities to the widows of subscribers, which had been started in the hope of increasing their funds. In 1745 their indebtedness amounted to upwards of £100,000. Parliament granted them various measures of relief, which need not now

¹ "Letter to Justus Jonas." In the "Dialogus de recta . . . pronuntiatione" (ed. 1643, p. 27), Erasmus refers to the same circumstance. "Nothing gave Colet so much anxiety," he says, "as the question to whom he should entrust the management of his school. Bishops deem such a matter not worth their careful attention. Chancellors consider themselves appointed to receive the fees rather than to look after the school, and think they have played their part to perfection, if they refrain from tithing the schoolmasters. In colleges of canons the worse faction generally prevails. Holders of civic offices are either devoid of judgment, or swayed by private interest. And so he appointed as master of his school a married man with a large family. The government of it he entrusted to a number of his lay fellow-citizens, of whose integrity he thought he had proof, and to their successors in order. And though this provision did not by any means free him from anxiety, he said that, as human affairs then were, this course appeared to him the least hazardous."

(The word which I have rendered "chancellors," namely *scholasteres*, is defined by Maigne d'Arnis to mean the ecclesiastical dignitaries in charge of church schools, "*écolâtres, chanoines chargés de la direction des écoles*," which seems to answer exactly to the office held by the Chancellor of St. Paul's.)

be detailed. As was not unlikely to happen, the revenues from the school estates were drawn upon to maintain the solvency of the company. For a long time this fact was not known to succeeding Courts of Assistants. "Previous to 1804," runs the report from which I quote,¹ "the company do not appear to have had any idea that they were indebted to the school fund. In that year, however, in the search for other papers, an old cash-book of the surveyor-accountant of the school in the year 1713-4 was discovered, by which it appeared that, at the close of his account, there was a balance due from the company to the school of £13,571 7s. 4½d. This led to an investigation of the early accounts of the school, when it was found that, in the year 1745, there was a debt owing from the company to the school estate of £34,637 15s., incurred, no doubt, by the application of the surplus income of the trust estates to the discharge of the debts and annuities to which the company had become liable in the manner above stated. With this debt the company charged themselves. In 1808 a sum of £5,000 was invested in the three per cent. reduced annuities in part payment; and in February, 1814, it was resolved that on the 1st of March and 1st of September in every year, £1,000 should be invested in the funds for the use of the school, till the whole debt should be liquidated."

That the whole debt has long since been liquidated, and a large sum left standing to the credit of the school, need not be said. The magnificent buildings of the new St. Paul's at Hammersmith are an evidence. But the records of corporate bodies afford few more honourable instances of integrity in the fulfilment of a trust than the one related above. Colet's wisdom in this respect has been more than justified.

In prescribing the subjects of instruction, Colet showed wide and liberal views, not untinged with a certain severity. He would have the children taught in "good litterature, both laten and greke," but especially such authors as had the

¹ Vol. iii., pp. 230, sqq., of the "Report of the Charity Commissioners," ordered to be printed May 1st, 1820.

"veray Romaine eliquence joynyd with wysdome, specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other (either) in verse or in prose." Hence, while he would have pure classical Latin taught, and not the barbarous jargon of the schoolmen, he would have it learnt, if possible, from authors like Lactantius and Prudentius, rather than from the original models. In this we see the opinions still unchanged which he had before expressed in the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians." At the same time, he plainly points to the classical writers as the ultimate standard; and the passage is worth quoting as an example of the way in which Colet allowed his fervour of spirit to break out, even in the prosaic language of statutes. After naming certain Christian poets, as Sedulius, and Juvenius, and Baptista Mantuanus,¹ as useful for the true Latin speech, he ends with :—

"All barbary, all corrupcion, all laten adulterate, which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde, and with the same hath distayned and poyseynd the old laten spech and the varay Romaine tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was vsid; whiche also seint Jerome and seint Ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes,—I say that fylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in, which more rathyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature, I vtterly abbanysh and exclude oute of this scole, and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best, and instruct the chyl dren in greke and redyng laten, in redyng vnto them such auctours that hathe with wysdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence."

¹ For remarks on some of these authors see the Introduction to the "Lectures on 1 Corinthians," p. liii. I am not sure whether the former popularity of the "good old Mantuan," Baptista Mantuanus (Spagnuoli, a Carmelite friar, who died in 1516), as a school-author in this country, may not have been due to Colet's recommendation. The first line of his Eclogues, "Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat," is quoted in "Love's Labour's Lost" (iv., 2). I have mentioned elsewhere that some of Shakespeare's Latin quotations can be traced to the examples in Lily's Grammar, as the *Vir sapit qui pauca loquitur* of Holofernes, and the *Diluculo surgere (saluberrimum est)* of Sir Toby in "Twelfth Night" (ii., 3).

In securing for his first high master the grammarian, William Lily, Colet took the best means of providing that the subjects he desired should be efficiently taught. The men capable of teaching Greek in England might then be counted on the fingers. Lily was one of them, perhaps the best. Like Colet, he had been a traveller. Born in Odiham, a little country town in Hampshire, just off the line from Farnborough to Basingstoke, he had entered Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1486, when about seventeen or eighteen, and would thus have been an undergraduate along with Colet, though a little his junior. Grocyn, the Divinity Reader at Magdalen, was his godfather. After graduating in arts, he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return made a prolonged stay in Rhodes, then a safe resort for western Christians, owing to its being garrisoned by the Knights of St. John. Passing on thence to Italy, he perfected his knowledge of the classic tongues under the tuition of Sulpicius and Sabinus. He would thus have learnt Greek from the lips of native Greeks, and had, moreover, the best instruction that the scholars of Italy could give. When this accomplished man returned at length to his native land, he shared with Grocyn and Linacre the honour of being the first to bring back to it a knowledge of Greek. For some time after this his movements are a little uncertain. A record is preserved of the presentation, May 24th, 1492, of a "*Willelmus Lilye, scholaris*," to the rectory of Holcote, or Holcott, in Northamptonshire. This appears to be the same Lily.¹ If so, as he resigned the benefice, November 6th, 1495, and afterwards married, the presumption is that he had not proceeded further than the minor orders of the Church, as was the case with Colet himself when presented to the livings of Dennington and Thurning. Like his intimate friend More, he had had

¹ See Lansdowne MS. 979, f. 32. But another of the name appears to have been living in 1490, if I understand the wording of an epitaph on a "*Willelmi Lili, servus Christique minister*," who was buried in St. Faith's. See Dugdale's "*St. Paul's*," 1658, p. 122, and Weever's "*Funeral Monuments*" (1631), p. 385.

thoughts of entering the priesthood.¹ What made him divert his thoughts to teaching we are not told. Men full of such new wine as the Greek learning then was, would naturally find more suitable play for their energies in London or at the Universities, than in a quiet Northamptonshire parish. And so we are not surprised to find Lily teaching in London during the years just preceding the foundation of St. Paul's School, on terms of close intimacy with More, and joining him in a work of translating Greek epigrams into Latin.

Such was the man, a proved scholar and the friend of scholars, whom Colet chose for his first high master in 1512, and, by so doing, gave to St. Paul's the proud distinction of being the first school in which Greek was publicly taught in England after the revival of letters. Lily did not hold the office very long, dying in 1522.² Yet, short as was his tenure of the post, he sent out some distinguished scholars and men of varied abilities, Lupset, Denny, Leland, North, and the less creditable Sir William Paget. It was a sign of a new order of things, at least in this country, when such men as Wolsey at Oxford, and Lily in London, were content to serve as

¹ "Meditabatur adolescens sacerdotium cum suo Lilio."—See above, p. 147, n.

² According to the "Elogia" of his son George Lily, appended to the "Descriptiones" of Paulus Jovius (ed. 1561, p. 91), he died "sub ejus anni initium, quo paulo antea Rhodos insula a Solymano Turcarum principe expugnata fuerat." This is not very clear. In his "Chronicon" George Lily places the taking of Rhodes "viii. Calend. Januarii 1523," which (allowing for Old Style) should be December 25th, 1523. But the capture of Rhodes was in 1522, and this is the date of Lily's death according to the inscription on his tablet in old St. Paul's. According to that, Lily and his wife Agnes were buried in Pardon Churchyard ("cæmiterio hinc a tergo nunc destructo"), and when the cloister there was demolished (by Protector Somerset in 1549?), George Lily had the brass, or tablet, from their tomb set up on the wall of the cathedral near the north door. In the copies of this inscription Lily's age is variously given as fifty-two and fifty-four. See Payne Fisher's "Tombes," &c. (1684), p. 99; Weever's "Funeral Monuments" (1631), p. 369; Dugdale, 1658, p. 56; H. Holland's "Monumenta," 1614, leaf E 4 verso. Fifty-four would seem to be the correct age, as the rare print of Lily by Edwards gives his age as fifty-two in 1520.

schoolmasters. Wolsey, indeed, soon resigned the ferule; but Lily, the friend of More, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas Elyot,¹ showed no wish to leave St. Paul's, and became the prototype of the highly-trained scholar often found in that profession at the present day.

A study of Colet's statutes, which were largely copied or incorporated in those of later schools—as, for example, Manchester and the Merchant Taylors—would throw much light on the state of education, and even on social life and customs, at the period. What a contrast, for instance, between the hours prescribed and those now in vogue! Now we begin school in many cases at half-past nine. Then it was seven o'clock. Two long stretches of four hours each—from seven to eleven, and again from one to five—filled up the school-day.² Of course, there would be little of the present night-work system; and when the key was turned in the school-door at five, master and boy would be free. "Remedies,"³ there were to be none. On this point the founder spoke most decidedly: "I will also they shall haue noo remedies. Yff the Maister grauntith eny remedies he shall forfeitt xls. tociens quociens, except the kyng or a arche bisshopp or a bisshopp presente in his owne persone in the Scole desyre it." Forty shillings (equivalent to nearly £25 now) would be a smart fine to pay,

¹ See Mr. Croft's edition of "The Boke named the Governour," 1883, vol. i., p. xxxvi. An anecdote there quoted from Camden shows in what repute Lily stood for learning. Speaking of Stonehenge, Camden writes: "I have heard that in the time of King Henrie the Eight there was found neere this place a table of mettall, as it had been tinne and lead commixt, inscribed with many letters, but in so strange a character that neither Sir Thomas Elyot nor Maister Lilie, Schoolemaister of Paules, could read it."

² These hours continued unchanged at St. Paul's till within living memory. I have heard one who is now a distinguished ornament of the bar speak of having had to start soon after five o'clock in the morning to reach St. Paul's from Highgate. See also an article headed "Sorrows of old Schoolboys," in the "Leisure Hour" for 1860, p. 618.

³ A "remedy" was an extra play-day, or half such a day, allowed in addition to the holy days of the calendar, which were the proper "holidays." The name survives at Winchester. For examples of the custom see the note to p. 381 of Mr. Gardiner's "Admission Registers."

and would no doubt be a sufficient deterrent. But it must be remembered that, though there were no vacations provided for, and though these "remedies" were forbidden, except on rare occasions, the regular saints' days of the calendar, along with Sundays, made a total of 153 days or half-days on which there was no school-work.¹

The founder's love of neatness and order² showed itself in various provisions. He would have no meat or drink or bottles brought into the school. The scholars were to find their own lights for winter time; but these were to be only wax. "In the scole in noo tyme in the yere they shall use talough candill in noo wyse, but allonly wex candill at the cost of theyre ffrendis." It is possible that the great supply of wax-tapers brought as offerings to the cathedral³ might have influenced this injunction. There might have been unusual facilities for the boys at St. Paul's to obtain them. But still the chief motive was probably the desire to ensure the better light and greater cleanliness that wax afforded, as compared with tallow.⁴

In some other enactments we see Colet's humanity of disposition. "I will they use no kokfighting," he says, "nor rydyng aboute of victory." Cock-fighting, and the equally

¹ See note above, p. 166. If 153 whole days were deducted, there would be left 212 working days, or forty-three weeks of five such days each, according to present usage. But the addition of some half-days would make the school year of our forefathers still longer.

² "He could not endure any slovenliness (*impatiens erat omnium sordium*); so much so as not to tolerate even an ungrammatical or illiterate mode of expression. All his household furniture, his service at table, his dress, his books, he would have neat (*nitidum*); as for splendour, he did not trouble himself."—"Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 26.

³ See above, p. 130.

⁴ Thus in the ordinances of Guildford School (1608) it was directed that every scholar should pay 4*d.* at Michaelmas, "wherewith shall be bought clea*n* waxen candles to keep light in the school during winter."—Carlisle's "Endowed Grammar Schools," ii., p. 567. In 1552 the relative prices of wax and tallow candles were as six to one, being 1*s.* a pound for the former, and 2*d.* for the latter. This seems very dear, allowing for the proportionate value of money. See Overall's "Accounts of . . . St. Michael," before quoted, p. 100.

cruel practice of cock-throwing, as well as bear-baiting, had been favourite pastimes in the reign of Henry VII. When Sir Thomas More, in his younger days, devised the "goodly hanging of fyne paynted cloth, with nyne pageauntes," to adorn the walls of his father's house, the legend over the first pageant, that of childhood, began with the lines :¹—

"I am called chyldhood : in play is all my mynde,
To cast a coyte, a *cockstele*, and a ball."

The "cockstele" was a short, thick stick, with which the players took aim at the head of a live cock, buried up to its neck in the earth. The "cock-pennies," or fees brought to the master of a school at Shrove-tide, to purchase his consent to the sport, and to provide the requisite materials for it, formed an item in his emoluments of sufficient importance to be a subject of special provision in the statutes of various schools. Thus at Hartlebury School in Worcestershire, by the ordinances made in 1564, it was provided that the schoolmaster "shall and may have, use and take, the profits of all such cock-fights and potations as are commonly used in schools."² So in the college founded by Archbishop Kempe at Wye, near Ashford, the voluntary offering of "cocks and pence at the feast of St. Nicholas" was recognized as a source of income.³ At Lancaster such payments, to be made at Shrove-tide only, were stipulated for as recently as 1802; seven-twelfths of the cock-pennies to go to the high master, and five-twelfths to the usher.⁴ Perhaps, however, the example of Wreay in Cumberland will best illustrate the extent to which the custom prevailed. In 1655, a Mr. Graham gave to this school a silver bell, to be fought for annually on Shrove Tuesday by cocks. "About three weeks previous to that day," we are told,⁵ "the boys fixed upon two of their school-fellows for captains, whose parents were willing and able to bear the expense of the approaching contest, and the master,

¹ Roper's "Life of More" (Singer's edition), p. 187.

² Carlisle's "Endowed Grammar Schools," ii., 759.

³ *Ib.*, i., 633.

⁴ *Ib.*, i., 667.

⁵ *Ib.*, i., 205.

on his entering the school, was saluted by the boys throwing up their hats, and the acclamation of *Dux! Dux!* After an early dinner on Shrove-Tuesday the two captains, attended by their friends and schoolfellows, who were distinguished by blue and red ribbons, marched in procession from their respective homes to the village green, when each produced three cocks, and the bell was appended to the hat of the victor; in which manner it was handed down from one successful captain to another."

That Colet should at so early a date have forbidden a barbarous sport, which kept its hold in other schools for many generations after his time, shows how far he was in advance of his age in this as in other particulars.¹

It has sometimes been a matter of surprise that Colet, with such enlightened views, should have permitted, and even seemed to encourage, the old custom of the Boy Bishop.² "Alle these Chyldren shall every Chyldremasse day come to paulis church, and here the Chylde Bisshoppis sermon, and after be at the hye masse, and eche of them offre a *1d.* to the Childe Bisshopp; and with themc the Maisters and surveyours of the scole." Perhaps it may have been that, having for-

¹ At Manchester School, whether through the wisdom of its founder, Bishop Oldham, or his executors, it was enacted in 1524 that every schoolmaster and usher should teach freely and indifferently, without any perquisite or reward, as "cock-penny, victor-penny, potation-penny, or any other whatsoever it be," except his regular stipend. For more on the subject, see "Londina Illustrata," vol. i. (on St. Paul's School), p. 6, n., where the "riding about of victory" is illustrated by a reference to Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes" (1801), p. 293. A boy sitting astride of a long pole is there represented as carried on the shoulders of two of his companions, holding a cock with both hands. Compare also Hampson, "Medii ævi Kalendarium," i., p. 159.

² So Maxwell Lyte, referring to the same custom at Eton, says: "This abuse was tolerated even by the enlightened Dean Colet, who ordered the boys at St. Paul's to hear a child bishop preach a sermon on Childermas Day."—"Hist. of Eton College," 1875, p. 157. For a full account of the ceremony of the Boy Bishop, see Gregorie's "Episcopus Puerorum in die Innocentium," 1649. The "child bishop" was chosen by the choristers of a cathedral on St. Nicholas' Day (December 6th), and held office till the following Innocent's Day (December 28th).

bidden the savage amusement of cock-fighting, Colet thought it wise to leave some opening for yearly festivity. Perhaps he wished to preserve some link of connection with the cathedral, as he has been thought to recall the threefold division of the church in the proscholion, schoolroom, and chapel of his school. But more probably the reason was that he discerned some elements of good in the children's festival, and sought to turn them to useful account. If so, Erasmus may have shared his opinion when he wrote his "*Concio de Puero Iesu*," for delivery by a scholar of St. Paul's to his fellows in the school dedicated to the Child Jesus.¹

Not the least striking feature in the statutes is the capacity of adaptation they possess. While there is much of the founder's individuality impressed upon them, as there could not fail to be, there is an express provision for enlargement or alteration as times and circumstances should change. When we think how many useful foundations have been marred by some binding enactment of their founder, we shall appreciate more justly the wisdom and true modesty of Dean Colet, in leaving his school unfettered by restrictions, which, however reasonable they may have been when first imposed, might come in time to have only a cramping effect. "Notwithstanding these statutis and ordinancis," he writes, "in whiche I have declarid my mynde and will, yet because in tyme to cum many thingis may and shall surwyne (supervene) and grow by many occasions and causis, which at the makying of this boke was not possible to come to mynde . . . I leve it hooly to theyr dyscrecion and charite, I meane of the Wardens and Assistences of the Felowshipp, with suych other counsell as they shall call unto theme, good litterid and lernyd menne, they to adde and diminish unto this boke, and to supply in it every defaute, and also to declare in it every obscurite and derknes, as tyme and place and just occasion shall requyre."

¹ There is extant an early English translation of this "*Concio*" of Erasmus, printed by W. Redman. I was allowed to make a transcript of a copy of it, believed to be unique, in the possession of the late G. W. Napier, Esq., of Merchistoun, Alderley Edge, Cheshire.

Having thus prepared for the government of his school, with room for its healthy growth in the future, and having appointed stipends for its masters, the liberal scale of which shows his high estimation of their office,¹ Colet drew up a short "Accidence," or elementary grammar, for the use of his scholars, to which was added a "Catechizon,"² or rudiments of religious instruction. And perhaps nothing can more fitly end this section than the passage with which the *Proheme*, or preface to it, concludes. It discloses the gentle, tender disposition of one who, as Erasmus says, "took a delight in the purity and simplicity of nature that is in children; a nature that Christ bids his disciples imitate."

"I praye God all may be to his honour & to the erudicyon and profyt of chyl dren my countre men, Londoners specyally, whome dygestynge this lytel werke I had alwaye before myn eyen; consyderynge more what was for them than to shewe ony grete conynge; wylling to speke the thynges often before spoken in suche maner as gladli yonge begynners and tender wyttes myght take & conceyve. Wherefore I praye you, al lytel babyes, al lytel chyl dren, lerne gladly this lytel treatyse, and commende it dylygently unto your memoryes. Trustynge of this begynnynge that ye shal procede and growe to parfyt lyterature, and come at the last to be grete clarkes. And lyfte up your lytel whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to God: to whom be al honour and imperyal majeste and glory. Amen."

¹ The high master, besides having a residence provided for him, was to receive a mark (13s. 4d.) a week, or £34 13s. 4d. a year, and a "livery gown of four nobles" (£1 6s. 8d.). The Lord Chancellor of the same period, Archbishop Warham, had (as Seebohm points out, "Oxford Reformers," p. 219), 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), as his yearly salary, with an equal amount for commons of himself and clerk. The allowance for a gown was the highest amount then customary, being the exact sum recorded to have been paid to Sir John Hurte for a gown in 1531. See the extracts from the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., given in "Londina Illustrata," before quoted, p. 6, n.

² Printed at the end of Appendix A. B

CHAPTER X.

SERMONS ON PUBLIC OCCASIONS.

Convocation sermon of 1511-12.—The hearers of it.—Extracts from the sermon.—Resemblance to Latimer's.—Sermon before the Court in 1513.—Fighting under the banner of Christ.—Unlawfulness of war.—Colet summoned to Greenwich.—Hopes of his enemies.—Interview with the King.—Installation of Wolsey in 1515.—Colet's sermon at Westminster.—His prayer for the new Cardinal.

THREE times, at least, in his life, Colet he was called upon to preach on occasions of great public importance. The first was the meeting of Convocation, February 6th, 1511-12; the second, the approaching departure of the king on his French expedition in the spring of 1513; and the third, the installation of Wolsey as cardinal, November 18th, 1515. Of the sermons then delivered, the first has been preserved entire, both in the Latin form in which it was delivered, and in a contemporary English translation. Of the second and third we possess only brief epitomes.

It is no exaggeration to say that the first of these marks an epoch in the history of the English Church. More truly, perhaps, than any other single speech or act, it deserves to be called the overture in the great drama of the English Reformation. It was a steady, deliberate appeal for reform, made to the rulers of the Church, not by some interested politician or ignorant Lollard, but by one holding a conspicuous position in the Church, and looked on, not without reason, as expressing the opinions of Archbishop Warham, as well as his own.¹ As such, more than one historian of the Reformation

¹ See Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," 1868, vol. vi., p. 294. Dean Hook appears to be mistaken in assigning the delivery of this sermon to

in this country has chosen it for a text, so to speak, with which to start.¹

Many circumstances combined to render the meeting of the clergy of the southern province in February, 1511-12, an important one. The brief of Pope Julius II. had lately arrived, entreating the king's assistance to defend the Holy See against Louis XII. Money would have to be found for an expedition, and the clergy would have to settle what proportion they should pay. But that was a small matter compared to the growing sense of a need of reform in the Church if the spread of heresy was to go no further. Only a few months before, in April and May, 1511, an active investigation into charges of heresy had been held by Archbishop Warham. Most of those summoned before him had recanted, and had their lives spared; but several, whose names are given by Burnet,² had been delivered up to the secular power. Moreover, Wolsey was fast

1513. "As Parliament," he says, "did not sit in 1511, and did sit in 1513, we may presume that a convocation was not summoned for 1511; and I therefore take 1513 as the correct date." But Burnet himself, whom he has just referred to, states that Henry's "next Parliament was in the third year of his reign," with marginal reference, "February 4th, 1512." ("Hist. of the Reformation," 1679, i., p. 7.) The confusion may be partly due to the use of the Old Style; February, 1512 (as we reckon it) being really in the year 1511.

¹ The late John Henry Blunt, in his "Reformation of the Church of England," prints it, with but little abridgment, in the opening pages (pp. 10-18) of his first volume. Bishop Burnet once intended to do the same. "When I writ my history of the Reformation," he says, "I had Dr. Colet's sermon in my hands, and once I intended to have published it, as a piece that might serve to open the scene, and to show the state of things at the first beginnings of the Reformation. But I was diverted from it," he adds, "by those under whose direction I put that work. They thought it might have been judged that I had inserted it on design to reflect on the present, as well as on the past state of things."—"Reflections," &c., p. 5, quoted in the Preface (p. iv), to vol. ii. of "The Phoenix," 1708. Besides the Latin original, printed in 1511, and the English translation, printed by Berthelet (given in Appendix B), the sermon was reprinted, with notes, by Thomas Smith (a scholar of St. Paul's and University Librarian at Cambridge) in 1661, and again in 1701; and it was also included in the volume of the "Phoenix," just mentioned.

² As above, pp. 28, 29.

rising in influence, and it remained to be seen how the councils of the sovereign would be guided by this able and ambitious churchman.

Hence it might well be with an anxious mind that Colet, at the archbishop's request, occupied the preacher's place before the four or five hundred representative clergy then assembled in St. Paul's.

Who were actually present on that 6th of February it is not possible for us now to learn. But from a list which has been preserved of the members of Convocation in 1452,¹ we may form a tolerably correct notion of those who would be summoned. In that year, besides the archbishop and seventeen suffragan bishops, we find on the roll ten cathedral deans, fifty-one archdeacons, eighteen proctors for capitular bodies, and thirty-five for the diocesan clergy, a hundred and forty abbots, a hundred and forty-four priors, eleven masters of collegiate foundations, and one precentor (St. David's). Adding to this list a bishop and twelve other clergy for the diocese of Llandaff, which seems to have been accidentally omitted, we have a total of four hundred and forty. Among these there would be men of very opposite characters; men with whom the preacher would be in sympathy, and others for whom he could entertain no respect. There would be present, or at least convened, fosterers of learning like Dr. William Smythe, the good Bishop of Lincoln, the founder of Brasenose College, and of Farnworth School in Lancashire; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and of the Grammar Schools of Taunton and Grant-ham; and Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, a benefactor to both the colleges just mentioned, and the founder of Manchester Grammar School. There would be friends and fellow-workers of his own, such as Richard Kyderminster, Abbot of Winchcombe, and Ralph Collingwood, Dean of Lichfield. There would be his own predecessor, Dr. Robert Sherborne, now returned from his foreign embassies, and made Bishop of Chichester. Wolsey would be there, as Dean of Lincoln. So

¹ See "England's Sacred Synods," by J. W. Joyce, 1855, pp. 284-288.

would the heads of religious houses in London : the Abbot of St. Mary Grace by the Tower ; the Priors of Holy Trinity, St. Bartholomew, and Elsing Spital ; and the Masters of St. Acons and of St. Laurence Pountney. More than all, there would be his own jealous and watchful diocesan. All these, before separating for the despatch of business into their upper and lower houses, in the Chapter House, and Divinity School beneath,¹ would be assembled in the old cathedral to hear the words of its dean. His text was from his favourite St. Paul :—

“Be you nat conformed to this worlde, but be you reformed in the newnes of your understandynge, that ye may prove what is the good wyll of God, well pleasing and perfecte.”—Romans xii. 2.

This he had prefaced with a few words, setting forth the great need of something being done for the reformation of the Church, and clearing himself from all suspicion of having sought the onerous task of then addressing them :—“For sothe I came nat wylyngly, for I knewe myne unworthynes. . . . But the commaundement was to be obeyed of the most reverend father and lorde the archebysshoppe, presydent of this councell, whiche layde upon me this bourden, truly to hevy for me.” The scheme of his discourse was simple and natural. Following the text, it branched off into two main lines, (1) conformation to the world ; and (2) reformation in newness of understanding. In more general terms, we might describe it as a contrast of the worldly life with the spiritual, as exemplified in the clergy of his time.

Under the first head, that of conformation to the world, he grouped together four main sources of evil : pride of life, carnal concupiscence, covetousness, and secular occupation. Under the second head, instead of a parallel series of the modes under which reformation showed itself, he treated of the methods by which it might be brought about. This half of the sermon was to the last degree practical. Reformation was to begin with those highest in the Church. For in them,

¹ Joyce, as before, pp. 295-6.

as in "lyvely bokes," others would read the pattern of their lives. And then, when thus begun at the right end, the work should be carried on in order, not by making new laws, "for there be lawes many inowe (enough) and out of nombre," but by enforcing the old. Let the laws be "rehearsed" that treated of ordination, of promotion, of simony, of personal residence, of secular occupation, of tavern haunting, of conventual life, of the presence of bishops in their sees, of alienating the Church's revenues, of provincial synods, and the rest. If the rulers of the Church would thus reform their own lives first of all, they need have no fear of the laity failing to follow their example, or withholding from them the honour that was their due. Such a course would be profitable to the Church, would bring praise to themselves and honour to God.

Such is a bare outline of this memorable sermon. There was no art or elaboration in it. Its power was due to the living earnestness of the preacher, and to the fearless honesty with which, before such an assembly, he dared to lay bare the sores from which the Church was then suffering. How, for instance, in such ears as Wolsey's, would sound the following passage upon pride of life?

"Howe moche gredynes and appetite of honour and dignitie is nowe a dayes in men of the churche? How ronne they, yea almost out of brethe, from one benefice to an other; from the lesse to the more, from the lower to the higher? Who seeth nat this? Who seyng this sorowethe nat? More over these that are in the same dignities, the moost parte of them doth go with so stately a countenance and with so hygh lokes, that they seme nat to be put in the humble bysshoprike of Christe, but rather in the high lordship and power of the worlde."

One of those entitled to be present was Robert Kirton, Abbot of Peterborough. Three years after, a visitation of his monastery was held by the Bishop of Lincoln, in the course of which "many things out of order were complained of and rectified." One of these disorders (and it was not the worst related) was that "the monks haunted a tavern near the monastery, and gave themselves to singing and dancing in the

dormitory till 10 or 11 a Clock at night, to the trouble of the rest.”¹ How to him, or others aware of such disorders allowed under their rule, would sound what next followed under the head of carnal concupiscence?—

“They gyve them selfe to feastes and bankettyng; they spende them selfe in vaine bablyng; they gyve them selfe to sportes and playes; they applye them selfe to huntynge and haukyng; they drowne them selfe in the delytes of this worlde.”

Colet might have heard of an archdeacon of Richmond, or, if not of him, of many a similar example, who “once came to Bridlington Priory, in the course of his visitation, with ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks.”²

On the next “secular evyll,” covetousness, Colet expatiates at more length. Some of his hearers must surely have winced as they listened to his pitiless enumeration of abuses under that head.

“For what other seke we nowe a dayes in the churche,” he exclaimed, “than fatte benefices and hygh promotions?” From that source of evil came the “heaping of benefices upon benefices;” the “great pensions” out of many benefices resigned; the “chargefull visitations of bysshops;” and, in the spiritual courts, the “daily newe inventions where with the sely people are so sore vexed,” and the “besyte and wantonness of officials.”³

On so trite a subject it is hardly worth while to add anything by way of illustration. One instance of the “heaping of benefices upon benefices” may be cited, as the subject of it died in Colet’s own parish of Stepney, and was buried in the chancel of the church there. This was Dr. John Kite, a native of London, who had been sent by Henry VIII. as ambassador to Spain. Before the end of 1513 he had been advanced by

¹ Gunton, “History of the Church of Peterburgh,” 1685, p. 56.

² Massingberd, “English Reformation,” 1857, p. 236, quoting Dugdale’s “Monasticon,” ii., 65.

³ On this subject compare what Colet had said before in his “Lectures on 1 Corinthians,” pp. 40, 41; Introd., p. xxii.; and “Exposition of Romans,” p. 110.

the provision of Leo X. to the archbishopric of Armagh; and "his promotions to Thebes and Carlisle came so quick upon him that the fees of the bulls of his translations and the retention of other benefices amounted to the sum of 1790 ducats."¹

On the fourth and last secular evil, that of worldly occupation, Colet also has much to say. It was one for which the clergy were not wholly, or even in the chief degree, to blame. The time was indeed near at hand when a signal change would take place; when the great seal itself would be transferred from an archbishop of York to a layman, Sir Thomas More. But as yet the world was not ripe for such an innovation. And so it was from the higher ranks of the clergy that ambassadors abroad, and judges and commissioners at home, were sought. It would be tedious to enumerate examples of so familiar a practice. Colet's own predecessor at St. Paul's had been sent from his deanery as ambassador to Rome. His future successor, "one Master Richard Pace," was perhaps as busily employed in embassies and affairs of state as any Englishman then living.² Another like him was Christopher Urswick, then Archbishop of York. Another was Silvester de' Gigli, or De Giglis, Bishop of Worcester,³ who might have been among Colet's hearers. The president of the Convocation himself, Archbishop Warham, was Lord Chancellor. His prior at Canterbury, who would also be among those cited, Thomas Goldstone, was at one time ambassador to the court of France.⁴ It would be with mixed feelings, not wholly of self-accusation, that many of Colet's hearers would listen to his complaint of that "secular occupation"

"wherein prestes and byshops nowe a dayes doth besy them selfe, the seruantes rather of this worlde than of Christe . . . For our war-

¹ "Despatches of Sebastian Giustinian," ed. by Rawdon Brown (1854), ii., p. 164. Another glaring instance, if it were worth citing in detail, would be that of Fitzhugh, Wolsey's predecessor in the deanery of Lincoln.

² Giustinian's "Despatches," as above, ii., pp. 142, 145. ³ *Ib.*, p. 178.

⁴ Somner, "Antiquities of Canterbury," 1640, p. 295. The Archbishop himself was Abbot of Canterbury.

rynge is to pray, to rede and study scriptures, to preache the worde of God, to minstre the sacramentes of helth, to do sacrifice for the people, and to offre hostis for their sinnes."

It is in this part of his sermon that the resemblance is closest between it and the famous "Sermon of the Plough," preached some seven-and-thirty years later by Hugh Latimer. In particular, both appeal to the words in which St. Paul remonstrates with his Corinthian converts on the subject of litigation (1 Cor. vi. 4), "Set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church," and so on. We seem to hear the very echo of Colet's invective in the oft-quoted words of Latimer:¹—

"Well, well, is this their duty? Is this their office? Is this their calling? Should we have ministers of the church to be comptrollers of the mints? Is this a meet office for a priest that hath cure of souls? . . . England, I speak it to thy shame: is there never a nobleman to be a lord president, but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a comptroller of the mint? 'I speak it to your shame. I speak it to your shame.'"

But it is time to pass on to the measures that Colet would adopt for reformation. As said before, he desired the enacting of no new laws, but only the enforcement of the old. And first he would seek to purify the mass of the clergy by stopping the influx of worthless characters into it. He would jealously watch the gate of ordination.

"There is the well of euils, that, the brode gate of holy orders opened, euery man that offereth hym selfe is all where admytted without pullynge backe . . . Hit is nat inoughe for a prieste, after my iugement, to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answere to a sopheme; but moche more a good, a pure and a holy life, approued maners, metely lernynge of holy scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes; chiefly and aboue all thyng, the feare of God and loue of the heuenly lyfe."

Was the Bishop of Ely in his place, James Stanley, brother of the Earl of Derby? If so, how would these words of Colet

¹ "Sermons" (Parker Society), p. 67. See also the passage from Tyndall quoted there, and Lewis's "Life of Pecoock" (1744), pp. 43-46.

sound in his ears?—of whom a later bishop of the English Church¹ briefly sums up the character by remarking that “He seems to have been a noble young spark, thrown into the Church for preferment, to live splendidly and voluptuously upon it.” “Other good,” writes another,² referring to his high family, “I find none reported of him, but rather much evil. He was made bishop the year 1506, and enjoyed that preferment eight years and a half, of which time he spent very little or none at Ely, but lived all the time at Somersham . . . and all the winter he would be with his brother in Derbyshire. So drowned in pleasures he passed his time, without doing any one thing worthy commendation or remembrance.”

After pleading for the laws to be enforced which would repress nepotism and simony, the preacher went on to the crying evil of non-residence of incumbents in their parishes:—

“For of this many evils growe, by cause all thinges nowe a dayes are done by vicaries³ and parysshe prestes; yea, and those foolyshe also and unmete, and often tymes wicked, that seke none other thyng in the people than foule lucre, wherof cometh occasion of euyl heresies and yll christendome in the people.”

It has been before mentioned that Colet had probably studied Chaucer. We may imagine, therefore, that he had often thought of that most beautiful of all Chaucer's portraits—the one of him who

“Sette not his benefice to hire,
And lette his shepe acombred in the mire,
And ran unto London, unto Seint Poules,
To seken him a chanterie for soules,
Or with a brotherhede to be withold:
But dwelt at home, and kepte wel his fold.”⁴

¹ Dr. White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, “Collections,” vol. xlv., leaf 189 (141).

² Godwin, “De Præsulibus,” 1601, p. 223, quoted *ibid.* This Bishop of Ely is cited as an example by Seebohm, “Oxford Reformers,” p. 227.

³ *i.e.*, deputies, the French *vicaires*.

⁴ For more on this subject see Lewis, “Life of Pecoock,” pp. 29, 41, and Hooker, “Eccl. Pol.,” bk. v., § 81.

Other lines in which reformation might be carried out are noticed in order : the restraint of worldly occupation and unseemly conduct in the clergy ; the recall of the religious to a stricter life, in accordance with their profession ; the consecration of suitable men as bishops ; the enforcement of their residence in their dioceses. Considering of whom his audience consisted, we cannot but admire the boldness of the preacher, when declaring that nowadays

“ Prelates are chosen often times more by favour of men than by the grace of God ; therfore truly have we nat a few tymes bishops ful lytell spirituall men, rather worldly than heavenly, savouryng more the spirite of this worlde than the spirite of Christe.”

But we must hasten on to the end of this striking sermon. The laws affecting the right bestowal of the Church's patrimony, the system of the ecclesiastical courts, the holding of provincial councils or synods, are all touched upon in succession. And lastly, the great truth is enforced, that if the clergy would only reform themselves, the reformation of the laity would be easy. “ Our goodnes shall teche them more clerely to be good than al other teachynges and prechynges.” In his closing words he beseeches his hearers to pardon him if in aught he had transgressed the bounds of moderation. “ Forgyve hit me ; and ye shall forgyve a man speakyng of very zeale, a man sorowyng the decaye of the churche.” Even yet he strikes once more :—

“ Suffre nat, fathers, this your so greatte a getheryng to departe in vayne. Suffre nat this your congregation to slyppe for naughte. Truly ye are gethered often tymes to gether ; but, by your favour to speke the trouth, yet I se nat what frute cometh of your assemblyng, namely to the churche.”

It was, perhaps, hardly wise in Colet to leave to the very close of his sermon words which must have stung so keenly. We seem to hear the very echo of them a quarter of a century later in the Convocation Sermon of Bishop Latimer :—

“ Ye have sat oft in consultation, but what have ye done ? Ye have had many things in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby

either Christ is more glorified, or else Christ's people made more holy?"¹

With what feelings the congregation would depart, threading their way amid the clustering pillars of the old cathedral, we cannot tell, but certainly one in that assembly had delivered his soul.

A little more than a year elapses, and Colet has again to preach under trying circumstances ; this time, before the king and his court. It is the spring of the year 1513, a year marked in our annals by the battle of the Spurs in France, and by that of Flodden at home. The interval between the meeting of Convocation in February, 1511-12, and the Lent of 1513 had not passed as prosperously as the friends of learning and religion in England could have desired. Julius II., a warlike pope, "more like to that Cæsar whose name hee bare," to use Bishop Godwin's words,² "than Peter, from whom he would faine derive his succession," had been busy forming a league against France. The young English monarch, fired with a passion for military glory, was easily persuaded to join an alliance, from which, as it proved, his father-in-law, Ferdinand, was to reap the chief benefit. There is no need to relate here how Dorset and the English troops were kept waiting on the banks of the Bidassoa, while the Spanish forces were overrunning Navarre, and securing for their sovereign the province he coveted. Towards the end of the year, with reduced numbers, and with soldiers dissatisfied and mutinous, the English expedition returned in disgrace. The effect of this on Henry might have been easily foretold. He prepared to lead an army in person into France. Louis, on his part, did his best to find his adversary work at home, by opening communications with the Scottish king, and trying to induce James to invade England from the north.

And thus the spring of 1513 would open with but gloomy prospects for all lovers of peace in this country. In the month of March Sir Edward Howard had already left Ports-

¹ "Sermons," as before, p. 46.

² "Annales," 1630, p. 9.

mouth, with instructions to scour the Channel and attack the French fleet off Brest. As Easter drew near, men's thoughts would be absorbed by the warlike tidings to be expected from the north and from the south. In less than a month the news was to come from Dean West, as ambassador to the Scottish court, that James was bent upon war ; and, from the fleet in the Channel, that the admiral had fallen in a desperate attempt on Brest.

This brief review of the state of circumstances may show us how far from easy or pleasant Colet's task would be, in preaching before the king and his court in one of the Chapels Royal, on Good Friday, March 27th, 1513. Had he been willing to play the part of a Chenaanah, instead of a Micaiah, his course would have been smooth enough. But he was at one with his friend Erasmus on the insane wars of kings. He had quoted in some sermon during the past year the sentiment of Cicero,¹ that he would prefer even the most unfavourable peace to the justest war. This had been made a handle of by the Bishop of London and other opponents of his, who appear, rightly or wrongly, to have attributed this sentiment to Colet himself.² They had tried to make him obnoxious on this account to the king, as they had before tried to incriminate him, on theological grounds, with the archbishop. But Henry, not utterly spoilt as yet by flattery, had generously protected and encouraged the dean. This very generosity would in one way add to Colet's difficulty in maintaining his principles consistently, for it would subject him to the charge of ingratitude, if he should say aught to thwart the king's inclination. How he bore himself let Erasmus say :³—

“ On Good Friday Colet preached a noble sermon before the king and his court on the victory of Christ, exhorting all

¹ “Quum vel iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefерrem.”—“Epp. ad Div.,” vi., 6.

² This is the way in which Erasmus represents it. See the “Lives of Vitrier and Colet,” p. 41.

³ *Ib.*, p. 43.

Christians to war and conquer under the banner of Him their proper King. For they, he said, who through hatred or ambition were fighting, the bad with the bad, and slaughtering one another by turns, were warring under the banner, not of Christ, but of the Devil. At the same time he pointed out to them how hard a thing it was to die a Christian death; how few entered on a war unsullied by hatred or love of gain; how incompatible a thing it was, that a man should have that brotherly love without which no one would see God, and yet bury his sword in his brother's heart. Let them follow, he added, the example of Christ as their prince, not that of a Julius Cæsar¹ or an Alexander.

"Much more to the same effect he gave utterance to on that occasion; so that the king was in some apprehension lest the soldiers, whom he was on the point of leading abroad, should feel their courage gone through this discourse."

Erasmus proceeds to relate how the mischief-makers bestirred themselves at this, in the hope that now, at any rate, they should be able to incense the king's mind against the preacher. They were apparently so far successful, that Colet received a summons to appear before the king at Greenwich. The scene which followed would make a striking subject for an historical painter. Greenwich was a favourite residence of Henry's. It had been the place of his birth, and, but three years before this, had witnessed his marriage. The *Placentia*, or Pleasaunce, of the old Duke of Gloucester, had been enlarged and beautified by his father, who had added the river front to it. The late king had also established a convent of Franciscan friars close by, to which Katharine of Aragon became a liberal benefactor.² It was in the garden of this convent that the interview took place. Whether it were that the tenour of the summons did not raise much apprehension in

¹ In his speaking, not of Cæsar, but of *Julius* Cæsar, it may perhaps be thought that Colet meant to allude to the warlike Pope Julius II., mentioned above. Or it may be a passing touch inserted by Erasmus.

² See Lysons, "Environs of London," iv., pp. 430, 464; and Tanner, "Notitia Monastica" (1787), § xxvi.

Colet's mind, or whether his natural intrepidity sustained him, he certainly showed little of the demeanour of an accused person.

"He came, and had luncheon in the Franciscan convent adjoining Greenwich Palace. When the king was apprised of his arrival, he went down into the convent garden, dismissing his attendants as Colet came out to meet him. As soon as they were alone, the courteous young prince bade him be covered, and converse with him without ceremony, himself beginning in these words:—'To spare you any groundless alarm, Mr. Dean, we have not sent for you hither to disturb your sacred labours, which have our entire approval; but that we may unburden our conscience of some scruples, and with the help of your counsel may better discharge the duties of our office.'"

The conversation lasted, Erasmus tells us, nearly half-an-hour; and we can easily imagine the state of expectancy among the courtiers in the palace, where Bricot himself was, as the two figures so strongly contrasted were pacing the trim walks of the convent garden. What passed between them can only be inferred from the brief remarks of Erasmus (who would derive his account from Colet himself), to the effect that "the king and he were at one upon all points, save only that the king wished him to say at some other time, with clearer explanation, what he had already said with perfect truth, namely, that for Christians no war was a just one. And this," it is added, "was for the sake of the rough soldiers, who might put a different construction on his words from that which he had intended."

How Colet satisfied the king's mind we are not told. In one account¹ it is indeed stated that the dean was so convinced by the king's arguments that the war against France was a purely defensive one, that in a subsequent sermon he spoke "with such eloquence and weight on the right of Christians to wage war, as to inflame not the king and his nobles only, who were already inclined for war, but even the spiritless and timid,

¹ Parker, "*Antiquitates Britannicæ*," 1605, p. 307.

against the French." And it is added that it was *after this sermon* that the king drank to the preacher's health, with the words of approval to be presently mentioned.

The point is one of some importance. If the account just quoted be correct, it would lend some colour to the charge of time-serving, which has been strangely brought against one of the least time-serving of men.¹ But it should be observed that this account is manifestly little more than a reminiscence of that of Erasmus. The same passage from the Good Friday sermon is referred to in the later, as in the earlier, story. It seems to me in the highest degree probable that Archbishop Parker (or whoever wrote this account), having Erasmus's letter to Jonas in his memory, expanded the hint there given as to the king's wish for another sermon, by declaring him to have preached one, and so to have won the applause of the war-loving monarch. But if it be admitted that Erasmus is in this particular a better authority than the writer of the "*Antiquitates*," there is nothing to justify any slur on Colet's consistency of conduct. All that Erasmus says is, that "as became his good sense and singular moderation of temper, he not only set the king's mind at rest, but even increased the favour in which he stood before." And then—not on any later occasion—"on returning to the palace, the king had a wine-cup brought to him, and pledged Colet in it before he would let him depart. Then embracing him most courteously, and promising all that could be expected from the most gracious of sovereigns, he let him go. And as the throng of courtiers was now standing round, eager to hear the result of this con-

¹ As by the writer of an article in the "*Tablet*" (August 14th, 1869), in an otherwise favourable notice of Colet's "*Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius*." "Colet had no desire for martyrdom, even to the extent of incurring the Royal displeasure; so on Easter Sunday he re-ascended the pulpit, and in the hearing of the Court unsaid what he had preached on Good Friday. Henry was delighted. After the sermon he invited the complaisant preacher to an entertainment, and, in drinking his health, said, 'Let every man,' &c." This development of an Easter Sunday sermon, with an entertainment after it, from the account in Parker's "*Antiquitates*," is a corroboration of my view that the writer of that had in like manner improved upon the statement of Erasmus.

ference, the king, in the hearing of all, said, "Let every man have his own doctor, and everyone follow his liking ; but this is the doctor for me."

"And so," concludes Erasmus, "certain wolves departed, open-mouthed, as the saying is ; Bricot more than all ; nor did anyone from that day forward venture to molest Colet."¹

Two more years pass away, and Colet has to preach in the abbey at Westminster. This time it is Wolsey in whom the interest centres. Leo X., desirous, we may suppose, of acknowledging the services Henry had rendered in the late war with France, by gratifying his powerful minister, had sent a cardinal's hat for Wolsey by the Protonotary Apostolic. The Pope's messenger had been received with due honours at Dover, at Canterbury, and again at Rochester. And now, on the 15th of November, 1515, he was making his entry into London. "At Blackheath"—as an old account² relates—

¹ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 46. I am indebted to Mr. F. D. Matthew for helping me to understand the proverbial expression which Erasmus employs, and on which he comments again in his "Adagia" (ed. 1629), p. 270. The words are : *ita discesserunt quidam lupi, ut aiunt, hiantes*. I have also to thank the writer of a courteous notice of the "Lives of Vitrier and Colet" in the "Westminster Review" (October, 1873, p. 570) for pointing out that Bricot was no other than Dr. Edmund Birkhead, Bishop of St. Asaph. As Wharton gives Brokehed as a various spelling of the name, it may have been commonly pronounced Bricket (compare Birkenden and Brickenden in Hertfordshire), and the peculiar form in which Erasmus writes it was probably due to a reminiscence of the name of the earlier logical writer, Bricot. The date of his appointment to the see of St. Asaph ("provided" by Leo X., April 15th, 1513, consecrated by Warham May 29th) would agree with Erasmus's language concerning him, "from a Franciscan friar having now become a bishop." He died in the spring of 1518, and was succeeded by his friend and fellow-Minorite, Henry Standish.

² Printed in Fiddes' "Life of Wolsey," pp. 251-3, with the heading "MS. in Herald's Office. Cerem., vol. iiii., p. 219." Through the kindness of H. M. Lane, Esq., Chester Herald, I have had the opportunity of comparing the copy in Fiddes with the original, and correcting it in several places. The volume in which the original is preserved is of folio size, bound in rough calf, lettered on the back, "Ceremoniæ III. W.C." A memorandum at the beginning states that the collection was made by

"there met with him the reverend father in God the Bishop of Lincoln,¹ the Earl of Essex, and many other gentlemen of great honour, both spiritual and temporal." And so the procession moved on over old London Bridge to the city, where "the Mayor of London with the Aldermen, on horseback, in Cheapside, and the Crafts,² stood in the streets after their custom." When the precious hat, the sign of Papal favour, had been borne in safety to the abbey, "at the north door of the same was ready the Abbot, and eight Abbots besides him, all *in Pontificalibus*, and honourably received it, and in like sort conveyed to the high altar, whereupon it was set."

On the Sunday following, November 18th, another procession started from York House—the Whitehall of later days—where my lord Archbishop, the new-made Cardinal, was residing. Mounted on horseback, "Knights, Barons, Bishops, Earls, Dukes and Archbishops," says the good chronicler, marshalling them on paper as he would have done on the actual route, "all in due order, proceeded from his place betwixt eight and nine of the clock to the Abbey; and at the door aforesaid his grace with all the noblemen descended from their horses and went to the high altar; where, on the south side, was ordained a goodly traverse for my lord Cardinal. And when his grace was come into it, immediately began the mass of the Holy Ghost, sung by the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishop of Lincoln (being) gospeller, and the Bishop of Exeter³ epistoler."

The scene must have been one of unusual splendour. Four archbishops were there: Armagh⁴ and Dublin,⁵ Canterbury

Sir William Le Neve, Kt., Clarenceux King of Arms, and digested by Sir Edward Walker, Kt. Garter, &c., 1664.

¹ William Atwater, who had succeeded Wolsey the year before.

² That is, the members of the guilds, or City companies.

³ Hugh Oldham, the founder of Manchester School.

⁴ John Kite, mentioned above, p. 183.

⁵ Dr. William Rokeby, a native of Yorkshire, once Rector of Halifax, who was translated from Meath to Dublin in January, 1511-12, and died in 1521.

and York—the last-named being the new Cardinal himself—along with the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, Lincoln, Norwich, Rochester, Ely, and Llandaff.¹ The great abbeys were fully represented. Besides Westminster itself, of which the archbishop was *ex officio* abbot, there were the heads of St. Alban's, St. Edmund's Bury, Glastonbury, Reading, Gloucester, Winchcombe, Tewkesbury, and Coventry. Among the lay peers assembled were the flower of England's nobility. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquess of Dorset and the Earl of Surrey, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Essex, and Wiltshire—these, and a host of inferior degree, are recorded to have been spectators of the ceremony.

When the time for the sermon came, "Mr. Doctor Collet, Dean of St. Paul's, made a brief collation or proposition, in which, especially, he touched three things." The divisions of the sermon are not so clearly brought out by the heraldic reporter as the divisions of the cavalcade. But as far as can be discerned from the brief abstract preserved, the three heads of the discourse were : (1) the title of Cardinal, what it meant, and how in this case it was obtained ; (2) the temporal authority attached to the office, as that of a prince and judge ; (3) its spiritual character ; the holder of it being in this instance a bishop.

Under the first of these heads, we are told, Colet spoke in kind and charitable terms of the new Cardinal, "by what means he obtained to this high honour, chiefly as by his own merits ; there naming many divers and sundry virtues that he hath used, which have been the cause of his high and joyous promotion to all the realm." That there was a certain degree of friendship between Colet and Wolsey, has been shown

¹ The Bishop of Winchester was Richard Fox ; of Durham, Thomas Ruthall ; of Lincoln, as said before, William Atwater ; of Norwich, Richard Nykke ; of Rochester, John Fisher ; of Ely, Nicholas West ; and of Llandaff, Miles Salley. See Stubbs' "Registrum," 1858, App. viii. Two of this number, the Bishops of Winchester and Norwich, had lately been appointed commissioners for settling the question of residence at St. Paul's. Their award was dated March 22nd, 1513-14. See Dr. Simpson's "Registrum Statutorum," pp. 400, 411.

before to be probable;¹ but in any case this was but a decent and Christian courtesy. At the same time the preacher did not leave unmentioned the other cause of promotion to the honour, which was "through our sovereign lord the King, for the great zeal and favour that our holy father the Pope hath to his grace."

The subject of the second heading is merely indicated as "touching the dignity of a prince, as having power judicial." Nothing of what was said on this topic has been preserved. Considering how bitterly Wolsey's exercise of his temporal authority in the King's service was resented, but ten years after this,² it may have been a topic on which the preacher did not care much to dwell.

In the third division of his sermon Colet was more at home, and we should have been able to guess who was preaching, even had no name been mentioned. In this he treated of the episcopal side of the cardinal's office, "signifying both the old and new law, and having the power of them." That is, if I understand aright this not very clear summary, as the temporal and judicial power of the cardinalate recalled the severity of the Old Dispensation, so his pastoral office recalled the gentler and more spiritual oversight of the New. He spoke also of "the high and great power of a Cardinal; how he betokeneth the free beams of wisdom and charity, which the Apostles received of the Holy Ghost on Whitsunday. And a Cardinal," he added, "representeth the order of Seraphim, which continually burneth in the love of the glorious Trinity. And for these considerations a Cardinal is metely apparelled with red,³ which colour only betokeneth nobleness; and how these three estates before-named be collocated and placed in heaven."

¹ See above, p. 94.

² See Hallam's "Constitutional History" (1867), i., p. 22, and the letter of Warham to Wolsey, quoted there, p. 20, n.

³ "Their dress consists of a red soutane, or cassock, with a cincture with tassels of gold, red caps and stockings, a rochet and a large cloak, with an ermine cappa in winter."—Walcott, "Sacred Archæology," p. 115. For the use of red "as a sign of majesty and might," see *ib.*, p. 169.

It is easy to recognize in this the author of the "Treatise on the Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius."¹ And though the reporter inadvertently speaks of "these three estates before-named," without having named them, we can readily insert the orders of Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. But if Colet let his imagination be in any degree carried away by the gorgeous scene before him, he did not end without some plain and most wholesome words of admonition. From the broken and imperfect quotations preserved, which show, by the way, that the sermon was in Latin, we can gather but a faint impression of the close of what must have been a powerful address. But we can see how boldly he struck home, knowing what we do of Wolsey's after career. "Also," continues the account, "he exhorted there my lord Cardinal, saying to him in this wise : *Non magnitudo superbum extollat nobilitatissimum honorisque dignitate* ; but remember that our Saviour in his own person said to his disciples : *Non veni ministrari sed ministrare ; et qui minor inter vos, hic major in regno cælorum ; et qui se exultat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur*. My lord Cardinal, be glad, and enforce yourself always to do and execute righteousness to rich and poor, and mercy with truth.

"And (then he) desired all people to pray for him,² that he

¹ The late Dean of Chichester, indeed, in referring to this sermon, said that "Colet was fanciful at the commencement of his discourse ; a thing unusual with him. He affirmed that the Cardinals represent the order of Seraphim," &c.—"Lives of the Archbishops" (1868), vi., p. 252. But the reader need only compare the beginning of ch. vii. of the treatise above mentioned : "First after the Trinity come the Seraphic Spirits, all flaming and on fire, full of the Deity they have received, and perfect." Dr. Hook inaccurately makes the day to have been *Tuesday*, the 18th of November.

² At the end of the MS. account is the following prayer, which I conclude to be a version of the Latin prayer used by Colet. In the first line "our" is written "one" in the MS., and in the second line "softe" is "soffe" twice repeated, the word being probably (as Dr. Simpson suggests) a clerical error for "softe." The rhyme perceptible might encourage the idea that the prayer was originally in English.

"O glorious Trinity, encrease in our Cardinall the Flowers green and softe of vertuous Lief and sober direction, so that his Sowle may have in

might the rather observe these points ; and (declared) in accomplishing the same, what his reward shall be in the Kingdom of Heaven. And so ended."

We need not follow in detail the rest of the picturesque account, setting forth how the Papal bull was then read by Dr. Vecy, Dean of Exeter ; how "at *Agnus Dei* came forth of his traverse my lord Cardinal, and kneeled before the middle of the high altar, where for a certain time he lay grovelling,¹ his hood over his head ;" how Archbishop Warham set the hat upon his head, after which *Te Deum* was sung ; and how, all ceremonies finished, the cavalcade re-formed at the north door, and all went back in state to the Cardinal's house near Charing Cross, where "with goodly order, the hall and chambers garnished very sumptuously with rich arras, a great feast was kept."

Fragmentary as is the narrator's account of what we should have most desired to hear, the sermon of the dean, we are grateful to him for having preserved to us thus much. We see from it Colet preaching humble-mindedness to Wolsey, that superb example of human pride and power, and exhorting him to "execute righteousness to rich and poor, and mercy with truth." And we discern in this the same fearless singleness of purpose, that impelled him to preach against war before the king, when the war fever was at its height ; and to show a convocation of clergy, dallying with reform,² how instant was the need of a reform among themselves. It was an idle fancy of Erasmus to derive the name of Colet from *Cohleth*, "Ecclesiastes," "the Preacher ;" but certainly three more faithful sermons have seldom been preached by the same man.

Subjection his mortal bodie, for his ghostlie helth, and after this Lief grant him your endless Welth. Amen."

¹ *i.e.*, prostrate : see Dr. Furnivall's note on Harrison's "England," *i.*, p. 7.

² When on August 11th, 1518, the two Cardinal-Legates Wolsey and Campeggio, proceeded to Greenwich, to set forth the objects with which the latter had come to this country, these were declared to be two : (1) for aid against God's enemies ; (2) "for reformation of the clergy."

CHAPTER XI.

INCIDENTS OF LIFE AT THE DEANERY.

Cornelius Agrippa studying under Colet's guidance.—Renewed efforts of his enemies.—Prosecution by the Bishop of London.—Relief found in the companionship of Erasmus.—Pilgrimage to Canterbury.—Shrine of St. Thomas à Becket.—Foreshadowings of a Reformation.

UNDER this heading I propose to group together a few events in Colet's life, which occurred while he was Dean of St. Paul's, but the dates of which, except in the case of the first to be mentioned, cannot be precisely fixed.

The first incident referred to belongs to the year 1510. In that year no less a person than Henry Cornelius Agrippa was a guest in the house at Stepney, at which the dean's mother, Dame Christian, resided. And more than that, he spent some time there under Colet's instruction, labouring hard, as he writes himself, under his guidance, at the Epistles of St. Paul. That one who, though as yet but twenty-three years of age, had been secretary to the Emperor Maximilian, had served with distinction in the Italian army, and had been knighted, should now patiently study theology at Stepney, is an evidence, not more of his versatile habit of mind, than of the wide reputation and personal influence of Colet. The story is so pleasantly told by Professor Henry Morley,¹ that I cannot do

¹ "The Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim," 1856, vol. i., pp. 230, *sqq.* The passage there quoted from Agrippa's own works ("Opera," Lugduni, s. a., ii., p. 595), is as follows: "Nam anno humanæ salutis millesimo quingentesimo nono, ætatis meæ vicesimo secundo, primum in Dola Burgundiæ publ. lecturas sacras literas [*sic*] professus sum, ob quam [*sic*] ab hujus studii Doctoribus in Collegium receptus, insuper regentia et stipendiis donatus sum: anno autem sequenti in Britanniam trajiciens, apud Johan. Coletum Catholicæ doctrinæ eruditissimum, inte-

better than adopt his words. After remarking on the beauty of the scenery about Stepney in those days, which made many persons of distinction choose it as their place of residence, he relates how Agrippa came to be a guest there of "the wise and pure-hearted John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, who was at that time engaged over the foundation of St. Paul's School. Colet, beloved of Erasmus, and decried of all who held by the abuses of the Church, was very careful in the choice of guests and house-companions. 'We are all such as our conversation is,' he used to say, 'and practise habitually what we often hear.'¹ We know Cornelius the better when we learn that, while engaged on his court errand, he was received into the household at Stepney by John Colet and his venerable mother, and that he employed his time, as we are both pleased and amused to hear, in studying, under the influence of his host's enthusiasm, the Epistles of St. Paul. 'Paul of all men,' wrote Colet, 'seems to me a vast ocean of wisdom and piety.' 'I laboured hard,' writes Cornelius of the time when he was Colet's guest, 'at the Epistles of St. Paul.'"

After describing the masques and other gaieties of the Court, at which Agrippa's mysteriously-expressed business required him to be often present, Professor Morley continues:—

"Glad of its ending was, no doubt, Cornelius Agrippa, and most happy to return to a house where time was passed in wiser occupation. There was nothing in a royal mummerly to be compared for beauty with the tall, well-shapen form and spiritual face of Agrippa's host, one of the handsomest, as well as best, men in the land. As for the dean's mother, Dame Christian, who lived with him, surely she was more royal than the king."

That the influence of Colet's teaching on the mind of his guest was considerable, is shown by the many points of resem-

gerrimæque vitæ virum, in divi Pauli epist. desudavi, & quæ nescivi illo docente multa didici, quamvis apud Britannos longe aliud & occultissimum quoddam tunc agebam negotium."

¹ Erasmus quotes the maxim, with high praise, in his "Adagia." See the "Lectures on Romans," *Intro.*, p. xiv.

blance between Colet's extant writings and a treatise which Agrippa wrote during his stay in London.¹ Both in this work and in his later "*De occulta Philosophia*," there is much to remind us of Colet's Lectures on St. Paul. It may even have been the case, as Professor Morley suggests, that the complaints of heresy made against Colet were in his mind, when speaking of "the shame and peril to which they are exposed, who sought the restoration of a pristine theology."

The circumstance of Colet's being thus brought into contact with men of heterodox opinions like Agrippa, may prepare us for the next event to be mentioned in his life, namely, his own narrow escape from a prosecution for heresy. It has been said before that Lollards from the country were known to frequent his sermons, when any occasion brought them up to London. Erasmus has told us that "there was no book so heretical, but he read it with attention. For from such, he said, he many a time received more benefit, than from the books of those who so define everything, as often to flatter their party-leaders, and not seldom their own selves as well." "He had got Wicliffe's treatises from some quarter or other, and had read them," is the statement of Ogygius to Menedemus, in the "*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*," with an undoubted reference to Colet. His foundation of St. Paul's School was looked on with an evil eye by some, who regarded the mode of teaching there as a dangerous innovation. He writes on one occasion to Erasmus, that a bishop, and one moreover in high repute for wisdom, had vilified his school, saying, in a public assembly, that it was "a useless, nay, a mischievous institution; nay, a very home of idolatry."² And all this, as

¹ The complete title of this is, "*Henrici Cornelii Agrippæ expostulatio super expositione sua in librum de verbo mirifico cum Joanne Catilineti fratrum Franciscanorum per Burgundiam Provinciali ministro, sacræ Theologiæ Doctore*." It occupies pp. 508-12 of vol. ii. of the collected works cited above, and is dated at the end, "*Ex Londino Angliæ celebri emporio, Anno MDX.*" The "*Liber de Verbo Mirifico*" referred to was Reuchlin's treatise. The fact that both were opposed by the Franciscans might form a bond of union between Agrippa and Colet.

² The letter is printed in Knight's "*Life*," p. 271.

Colet could but surmise, because the Latin poets were taught there!

But it was probably after his Convocation sermon that the resolution to crush Colet, if possible, came to a head. One great object of that Convocation, nominally at least, had been the suppression of heresy.¹ And it must have been doubly galling for the bishops and clergy then assembled, to be told from the pulpit that the heresies of which they complained "were not so pestilent and pernicious unto us and the people as the evil and wicked life of priests; the which, if we believe Saint Bernard, is a certain kind of heresy, and chief of all, and most perilous."² We can hardly wonder that men like Bricot and Fitz-James should chafe under this. If it were true that Colet was prolocutor of the Lower House in this Convocation, it must have been with curiously mixed feelings that he presided over a debate on the scriptural authority for punishing heretics with death. But it is on mere conjecture alone that the famous *De vita* anecdote is referred to such an occasion.³ Still, it soon became clear enough that his enemies meant to get a condemnation of his doctrines pronounced. The only difficulty seems to have been in what way they could best proceed. If we are to believe Tyndale, the Bishop of London

¹ See the passage in a letter from Warham to Henry VIII., quoted by Seebohm, "Oxf. Ref.," p. 224, n.

² Waterland, in the passage quoted above, p. 143, n., considers that both St. Bernard and Colet after him strained their proposition too far.

³ The story is told by Erasmus in the later editions of his "Annotationes," in the note on Titus iii. 10, *Hæreticum hominem post unam et secundam correctionem devita*; and also (more at large) in the "Stulticiæ Laus," 1515, leaf x. Where or when it was that "a certain cynical old blade" (to adopt Bishop Kennett's more forcible than elegant version), "who bore the character of a divine legible in the frowns and wrinkles of his face," insisted on explaining *devita* as *de vita tollendum*, we are not told. All that is said is that it was *in concilio*, and under the presidency of Colet (*quo præsidente res acta est*). Hence one may fairly complain of the passage being translated with such an assumption as it is in Knight's "Life," p. 175: "I had it from Dr. Colet, &c., who was prolocutor when this thing happened in convocation." On this assumption an argument follows as to *which* convocation it could be; and so the baseless structure goes on rising.

would have fain prosecuted him for translating the Lord's Prayer into English.¹ But at last a definite handle of accusation was found.

Three distinct charges were brought against the dean. First, that he had taught that images ought not to be worshipped. Secondly, that in expounding the passage in St. John xxi. 15-17, with its thrice-repeated *Feed my sheep*, he had departed from the orthodox interpretation. He had been in order in explaining the first command to feed, as meaning to feed by the word of doctrine; and the second, as meaning to feed by example of life. But, while other expositors interpreted the third repetition of the precept to refer to entertainment in hospitality, Colet had argued that this could not have been enjoined on poor men like the apostles, and had substituted some other explanation for it.² Thirdly, that "having said in the pulpit that there were some who preached written sermons—the stiff and formal way," adds Erasmus, "of many in England—he had indirectly reflected on his bishop, who, from his advanced age, was in the habit of so doing."³

¹ "For all those three, yet he would have made the old dean Colet of Paul's an heretic, for translating the Paternoster in English, had not the bishop of Canterbury help the dean."—"Answer to Sir Thomas More" (Parker Society), p. 168. Colet's paraphrase of the Seven Peticions of the Paternoster is printed in the Prymer of Salisbury Use, Paris, 1532; and, from that, in Knight's "Life," p. 388. See also Lewis's "Life of Pecock," p. 327.

² Erasmus in his "Annotationes," gives the same application to the first and second *Pasce* as Colet had done, but adds no third. The dispute shows how it was high time for the study of Greek to be begun, seeing that the thrice-repeated *Pasce* of the Vulgate (as indeed the *Feed* of the Authorized Version) represents two different words in the original. In our Revised Version the second of the three is now properly translated *Tend*.

³ A writer in the "Saturday Review," April 1st, 1876, p. 437, makes the pertinent remark on this last article of accusation, that it shows that "the custom of preaching written sermons did not, as is often supposed, come in with the Reformation, and is rather an English than a Protestant peculiarity." If the account in Parker's "Antiquitates" can be depended upon, the gist of Colet's offence lay in having inveighed against "*bardos illos et stupidos theologos, qui semper eundem meditatatum sermonem*

According to Erasmus,¹ whose account is the main authority we have to follow, the Bishop of London laid an information (*defert eum*) against Colet before the archbishop in the first instance. And the sequel, as he relates it, was briefly this, that "the archbishop, to whom Colet's high qualities were perfectly well known, undertook the protection of the innocent; and, as Colet himself disdained any reply to these and still more frivolous charges, he became a protector instead of a judge." But a probable suggestion has been made,² that the bishop first cited Colet before his own consistorial court, and that the matter only came before Archbishop Warham on the defendant's making an appeal to him as his provincial. No record of any process appears to be extant. But that the danger in which Colet stood, or would have stood but for the friendly regard entertained for him in the highest quarters, was a very real one, is evident from the number of executions about that time on charges hardly more serious, and also from the tradition of his narrow escape which can be traced in various quarters. We have already heard what was said by Tyndale, who was a man of five-and-thirty when Colet died. Hugh Latimer, who was preparing to take his M.A. degree at Cambridge about the time when these events happened, recalled the circumstance in a sermon many years after; fixing the date of his attending a divinity lecture of George Stafford's in Cambridge, by its occurring "even at that time when Doctor Colet was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary."³ John

concioni adferebant, et ex *Legendis* notas ac decantatas narrationes sæpius iterabant."

¹ "Letter to Justus Jonas." See the "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 41. As an instance, I do not say of unfairness, but of careless editing, it should be noticed that in Knight's "Life," p. 79, a passage of some length (from "and the more jealous," to "heretical pravity") is inserted between inverted commas as if part of the translation from Erasmus, though there is not a word to answer to it in the Latin.

² Knight's "Life," p. 82.

³ "Seventh Sermon on the Lord's Prayer," preached in 1552. See Latimer's "Sermons" (Parker Society), p. 440.

Bale, Bishop of Ossory, is not a very trustworthy witness ; but, as he was an undergraduate at Cambridge at this same period, he may perhaps be depended upon for his version of an incident that would be much talked about there. He also testifies that Colet "was not far from the same"—meaning the punishment of heretics—"for reading Paul's epistles, by his life ; had not there weighty matters bene in the way." ¹

So that, on the whole, Erasmus might well write to congratulate his friend on being able to return to his labour of preaching ; assuring him that his voice would be all the more eagerly listened to, for having been for a time silent. ²

Another letter of Erasmus, ³ addressed to Andreas Ammonius, and dated St. Omer, June 13th, 1513, shows us incidentally how little soured Colet's temper was by this harsh treatment. He had been exerting himself to procure the release of a prisoner from the King's Bench prison, ⁴ although the one in whose behalf he thus interested himself, one whom he formerly looked on as a steadfast friend, had turned against him in his late conflict with the bishops. The casual manner in which this incident is disclosed makes us feel that, were more records of the time preserved, many another good deed of Colet's would be brought to light.

But it was not wholly in distressing or serious matters that his life at St. Paul's was spent. The picture, undoubtedly

¹ See the passage quoted in Knight's "Life," p. 84.

² "Epistolæ," Lond., 1642, col. 354. The letter is dated Cambridge, 1 Nov., 1507. This is certainly wrong. Brewer assigns it, but on conjecture only, to the year 1512. It seems most natural to refer the expressions to some temporary inhibition of Colet from preaching ; but there is nothing in the letter absolutely requiring this.

³ *Ib.*, col. 409. Andreas Ammonius was Latin secretary to Henry VIII. and Protonotary Apostolic.

⁴ I presume that this is meant by *e carcere regio*. But I can see nothing to bear out the interpretation put upon it in Knight's "Life," p. 85, that the man was a Lollard, who "it seems had been censured and condemned in the *spiritual court*, and committed to one of the king's prisons, as given up to the civil magistrate for an obstinate offender." All this is purely gratuitous. I cannot say whether the one denoted anonymously in this letter by "N." is the same as the one so referred to in a letter a few pages further on, col. 415.

sombre in the main, is lit up by a few stray gleams of light. These are oftenest seen when Erasmus is near. Few could probably draw Colet out so well as the acute and lively Dutch scholar, whose learning he would respect, whose candour he would admire, and with whose versatility he would be amused. "Occasionally," says Erasmus, "he took me with him for company on a journey, and then nothing could be more pleasant than he was."¹

One such journey, perhaps the one that Erasmus had foremost in memory when he penned these words, was a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. Pilgrimages were still fashionable. Queen Katherine and Sir Arthur Plantagenet had each lately visited the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham,² and Pope Julius himself had been a pilgrim to Loretto. Erasmus, about 1513, had followed the stream, and, in a half jesting mood, had turned his steps to the famous Norfolk sanctuary, along with a young Eton friend, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. And now, presumably in 1514, he and Colet wend their way together to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. Erasmus has left us an account of both these journeys in his Colloquy entitled "*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*;" and his descriptions are so accurate that they almost answer the purpose of a guide-book to the two abbeys he describes.³ There can hardly be a better way than to reproduce his description, with such abridgment as may be requisite.

¹ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 26.

² See the "Oxford Reformers," p. 273, and p. vii., n. of "Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury," by John Gough Nichols, 1849. The writer will not easily forget a journey made by himself to Old Walsingham, on August 27th, 1873. The quiet little town, with its narrow streets and red-tiled houses, looked as if it might have remained unchanged since Erasmus's time. A projecting stone head, as of a doorkeeper reconnoitring visitors, still peered out, with a most weird expression, over the gates of bleached oak at the entrance of the ruined abbey. It had no doubt looked down upon Erasmus and his friend Robert Aldrich.

³ In Somner's "*Antiquities of Canterbury*," 1640, pp. 165-175, the account of Erasmus is almost taken as a text for annotation.

"The church dedicated to St. Thomas,"¹ he says, "rises so majestically into the air, as to strike even the distant beholder with religious awe. Two vast towers seem to greet the pilgrim as he approaches, while the pealing of their bells echoes far and wide over the country. In the south porch are three statues of armed men,—those who impiously murdered the saint. Their names are attached to them: Tuscus, Fuscus, and Berrus.² On entering, the spacious majesty of the edifice opens out before you. To that part, the nave, anyone is admitted; but, beyond the massive proportions of the structure, there is nothing special to notice there, excepting some books chained to the pillars (the Gospel of Nicodemus among them), and someone's monument. The choir is railed off by an iron grating, through which you can see to the extreme end of the church. Hither you ascend by a number of steps, while an arched passage beneath them gives admittance to the cloisters on the north side. At this point is shown an altar of wood, sacred to the Holy Virgin,³ small, and in no respect noticeable, except as a memorial of antiquity, shaming the lavish expense of these latter days. On the altar is the point of the sword, with which the arch-

¹ It will be noticed how the fame of St. Thomas had obscured all else at Canterbury to such a degree that even the true name of the abbey church is forgotten. Before Lanfranc's time it had been known as St. Saviour's. He re-dedicated it to the Holy Trinity. After its third partial destruction by fire in 1130, it was restored once more, and the name changed to Christ Church, which it still bears. See Somner, as above, pp. 157-159.

² Erasmus, with the amusing ignorance of English that made him represent a jury's verdict of *guilty* by *killim*, thus distorts the names of three out of the four reputed assassins, Tracy, Fitz-Urse, and Brito. The fourth was Hugh de Morville. Four niches still remain over the doorway of the south porch. See Nichols, as above, p. 111.

³ Erasmus accurately describes the spot pointed out by tradition as the scene of the martyrdom. "At the moment when Becket was encountered by the king's knights, he had just crossed the north transept from the door leading from the cloisters, and was mounting the steps towards the choir, in which the monks were then performing their vespers." Nichols, p. 114. The altar of the Virgin was erected near the spot afterwards.

bishop's skull was cloven. Its sacred rust, out of love for the martyr, we religiously kissed. Turning aside hence we enter the crypt, which has its own set of guides. There we have first exhibited to us the skull of the martyr as it was pierced through, all encased in silver, except a part at the top left bare to be kissed. At the same time there is displayed a slip of lead, with the name of Thomas of Acre engraved upon it. There also are hung up in the dark the hair shirts, girdles, and bands with which that prelate used to subdue the flesh; the very appearance of which made us shudder, such a reproach were they to our luxurious softness. From this we returned into the choir. On the north side are the repositories of relics.¹ When these were unlocked there was produced from them an amazing quantity of bones: skulls, jawbones, teeth, hands, fingers, whole arms, all which we adoringly kissed; nor would there have been any end to it, as it seemed, had not my companion not over politely interrupted the zealous showman. He was an Englishman, Gratianus Pullus² by name, a learned and pious man, but less well-disposed than I could have wished to this department of religion. He was not a Wicliffite, I should imagine, though he had read Wicliffe's books: where he got them from I cannot tell. When our guide brought out an arm, with bleeding flesh still attached to it, he recoiled from kissing it, and by his looks also showed that he had had enough. Thereupon the guide

¹ "A little higher up, on the other [North] side of the Quire, between Chichlies and Bourghiers tombs was provision made heretofore for the storing and treasuring up of Saints reliques. This Repository was shewed to Erasmus. . . . Hence, Erasmus beheld, as we may now, the Altars table and ornaments."—Somner, p. 170.

² As in the *Modus orandi Deum* Erasmus speaks of Colet as his companion in a visit to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, with circumstances closely corresponding to those here related ("Ista Ioanni Coletto. nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna; mihi ferenda videbantur donec," &c.), it seems a certain conclusion that Gratianus Pullus here is an assumed name for Colet. It was perhaps suggested by Colet's habit of wearing black, "non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur." See the question argued at length in Nichols, p. 127, and Seebobm's "Oxford Reformers," p. 288.

locked up his treasures again. After this we viewed the altar-table and its ornaments, and then the objects which had been stored up beneath the altar. All were so rich, that you would call Midas and Cræsus beggars by comparison, if you had beheld that quantity of gold and silver. I could not control the wish—though I prayed it might be forgiven me—that I had some such relics as these at home. After this we were conducted into the sacristy. Heavens! what a display of vestments all of silk; what an infinity of golden candlesticks! There too we saw the pastoral staff of St. Thomas, which appeared to be a reed covered with silver plate, very light, and not wrought in any way. Its height was no more than up to the waist. There was no cross, so far as I saw. The pall was shown, all of silk, but of coarse texture, and not adorned with any gold or jewels. A maniple was there also, still retaining the traces of perspiration from the neck, and of blood, plain to be seen. These mementoes of old-world simplicity we readily kissed. They are not shown to everybody; but Archbishop Warham, with whom I had some acquaintance, had given me a note of introduction.¹ From this we are conducted to a higher part of the building. For behind the high altar the church rises as it were afresh.² There, in a kind of chapel, is shown the whole figure³ of the saint, gilded over, and decorated with many jewels. Here an unlooked-for mischance wellnigh cut short all our enjoyment

¹ At this point Erasmus inserts a few lines of praise for his friend and patron Warham. In the "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," Appendix C, I have given a translation of the passage from his "Ecclesiastes," in which he pays a fuller tribute to the merits of that good man.

² This refers to the *Corona*, or circular addition to the original structure, eastwards from the High Altar, known as Becket's Crown. See the ground-plan in Nichols, p. 114.

³ Latin, *tota facies*. It is not quite certain whether a full-length image or a picture is meant by these words, especially as Erasmus speaks shortly afterwards of the "custodian of the golden head," *assessor capitis aurei*. But the mention of the jewels seems to point to a full-length image, the head of which may have been of gold. See, however, the additional note in Nichols, p. 245. The actual skull, as said before, was in the undercroft.

of the sight. My companion Gratian did anything but ingratiate himself.¹ Our short prayer ended, he asked the custodian, 'Is it true, good father, what I hear, that Thomas in his lifetime was very good to the poor?' 'Most true,' said he, beginning to relate many instances of his bounty to those in need. Then said Gratian, 'I do not suppose that this disposition of his is changed, unless for the better?' The other assented. 'Seeing then,' he continued, 'that this holy man was so liberal towards the destitute, while he was yet but poor, and himself needing the help of money for his bodily wants, do you not think that now, being so rich, and having no need of money, he would take it patiently, if some poor woman, for instance, with starving children at home, or a husband laid up with sickness, and destitute of all support, were to ask pardon and then take some small fraction of the great riches we see for the relief of her family? She might take it with the donor's goodwill, either as a gift or a loan.' When the custodian in charge of the golden head made no reply, Gratian, with his usual impetuosity, said, 'I for my part am quite confident that the saint would even rejoice to be the means, in death as in life, of relieving by his riches the destitution of the poor.' On this the attendant began to knit his brow, pout his lips, and glare at us; and I have no doubt he would have turned us contumeliously out, if he had not learnt that we had an introduction from the archbishop. I pacified the man's anger as best I could with soothing words, telling him that Gratian did not mean aught of what he said, but had a way of speaking in jest; and at the same time I put a few shillings into the box.² At this juncture the prior came upon

¹ The evident play on the words in "*hic minimum iniit gratiæ comes meus Gratianus*," may favour the supposition that Erasmus chose this proper name as a translation of *John*, in keeping with the interpretation found in St. Jerome, "*Ioannes, in quo est gratia, vel Domini gratia*." See the Introd. to Colet's "Treatise on the Sacraments," p. 7.

² After this, in the original, follow some remarks, conveying, as it may be thought, the temperate views of Erasmus himself on the subject of costly adornment of churches. They are omitted for brevity's sake.

the scene.¹ He seemed to me a pious and sensible man, well versed in the tenets of the Scotists. He opened for us the shrine, in which the remains of the saint's body are said to repose.² It was not allowed us to see the actual bones, nor indeed would it have been possible without bringing ladders ; but the wooden canopy which covered the golden sarcophagus was lifted by ropes, and disclosed to us priceless treasures. Gold was the very commonest material. Every part shone and glittered and flashed with gems of the greatest rarity and size ; some of them larger than a goose's egg. Several monks were standing around in an attitude of devotion ; and when the covering was raised we all worshipped. The prior went on pointing out the jewels one by one with a white wand, adding the name of each in French, its value, and the name of the donor. The chief of them were the offerings of crowned heads.³

"Finally, we were taken back to the sacristy. There a case was brought out covered with black leather, and laid upon the table. When it was opened, all worshipped on bended knees. There were inside it some torn pieces of linen cloths, several of them retaining marks of service, which the saint had used

¹ Erasmus introduces him with more formality as "summus ille mystagogus," and explains that he was abbot in all but the name (the archbishop being *ex officio* abbot). Nichols, p. 164, makes Thomas Goldwell, who succeeded in 1517, to be the prior. But if, as is pretty certain, the visit of Colet and Erasmus was made two or three years earlier, the prior would be Thomas Goldstone, a much more distinguished man. He succeeded Selling in 1495, and was sent by Henry VII. on an embassy to France. He built the tower of "Bell Harry Steeple," and, in 1511, adorned the south side of the choir with tapestries, which no doubt our pilgrims would remark. His rebus of three "gold stones" is still to be seen in places on the fabric. See Somner, "Antiquities," pp. 166, 169, 294.

² A drawing of the shrine, from a sketch in Cottonian MS., Tit. E. viii., is given at p. 166 of Nichols, along with an inventory of the jewels. Among the latter was the "regal" or "royal" of France. The confiscation of the treasures of the shrine in 1538 by Henry VIII., is a story familiar to all readers of Froude.

³ I omit here, for shortness, a passage describing another visit to the crypt, where an altar of the Virgin was pointed out to them.

as handkerchiefs.¹ Upon this my friend Gratian again failed to answer to his name. For when the prior, in courtesy to him as an Englishman of note, and a person of high standing, offered to present him with one of the linen rags, supposing that nothing could be a more acceptable gift, Gratian, on this occasion but little grateful, took hold of a piece with his fingers, not without signs of repugnance, and then contemptuously put it back again, with a pout of the lips as if whistling ;² for that was a trick he had, if offended by anything that he thought contemptible. I was mentally distracted between shame and fear. However, the prior, a man of sense, affected not to notice the circumstance ; and, after offering us a glass of wine, took a polite leave of us.³

“On our starting back for London, before we had got far from Canterbury, we came upon a narrow part of the road that runs in a deep hollow, with shelving banks so steep on both sides that you cannot get out of it. Nor can the journey this way be avoided. On the left side of the road is an alms-house for some poor old men,⁴ one of whom runs forward as

¹ In the Latin, the expressions are more homely : “*Fragmenta quædam linteorum lacera, pleraque mucii vestigium servantia. His, ut aiebant, vir pius extergebat sudorem a facie sive collo, pituitam a naribus, aut si quid esset similibus sordium,*” &c. It is fair to observe this, as bearing on Colet's behaviour just afterwards.

² Lat. *porrectis labiis, veluti popfysmum imitans*. It is not easy to express the exact meaning, when some inarticulate sound, or gesture, is probably what is meant. Each reader will best realize it for himself. It must be owned that, in point of good manners, the prior has here the advantage.

³ After this there is a digression, in the original, on the rapacity of English custom-house officials, apropos of the nearness of Canterbury to the coast.

⁴ “We recognize at once,” says Stanley, “the old familiar lazaret-house of Harbledown, so picturesque even now in its decay, and in spite of the modern alterations which have swept away almost all but the ivy-clad chapel of Lanfranc ; the road, still steep, though probably wider than at that time ; the rude steps leading from the doorway, under the shade of two venerable yews, one a lifeless trunk, the other still stretching its dark branches over the porch.”—“*Memorials of Canterbury*,” 1865, p. 243. I have used the term “alms-house” in the text, as Erasmus's word is *mendi-*

soon as they perceive anyone coming on horseback, and, after sprinkling him with holy water, holds out the upper part of a shoe, bound with a rim of brass, in which is a piece of glass set like a jewel. When people have kissed it, they give a small coin. Gratian was riding on my left, next the alms-house. He was sprinkled with the shower of holy water, and bore it as best he might. But when the shoe was held out, he asked what it meant. 'The shoe of St. Thomas,' says the man. At this my companion fired up, and, turning to me, said: 'What do these dolts mean? Would they have us kiss the shoes of all good men? Why don't they make one trouble serve, and bring us their very excrements to be kissed?' I felt sorry for the old man, and, as he looked dejected, I consoled him with a trifle in money."

Such is Erasmus's account of this memorable journey. It cannot be said that he has portrayed his friend Colet in a very amiable light. There runs through his description an under-current of satire, which makes one suspect that, while pretending to be "distracted between shame and fear" at his companion's bad manners, he rather enjoyed the scene. Not that his tone was one of mere levity. "Erasmus tittered and Colet fumed," is the pithy, but not quite fair, summary of a recent writer.¹ *Tædium*, weariness, is the word rightly used by the narrator of his friend's state of mind in presence of the endless parade of relics and jewelled offerings. He had had too much of them.² It was fast becoming the state of mind of Europe

cabulum. But it was really a hospital for lepers, founded at Herbaldown, about two miles from Canterbury, by Lanfranc, the first archbishop after the Conquest, and endowed by him with £70 a year. See Somner, as above, p. 82.

¹ Dixon, "History of the Church of England," 1878, i., p. 27.

² If Stanley is right in saying ("Memorials," p. 242) that the bleeding arm described above, which first moved Colet's disgust, was the arm of St. George, some light may be thrown on Colet's feeling with regard to it by observing that one of his early duties as dean would have been the receiving a leg of the same martyr. "Lewis XII.th's minister, Cardinal d'Amboise, had testified his esteem for Henry by sending him a leg of St. George the Martyr. It appears from Fabyan that this relic, enclosed in silver, was exhibited at St. Paul's on St. George's Day, 1505."—"His-

at large ; and being a man profoundly impressed with the realities of religion, he could not temporize with these things as Erasmus could. The fire smouldering within him broke out into a sudden blaze. Prior Goldstone, as he locked up his relics, and the old bedesman, as he drew back from the vehemence of the unknown traveller, must both have had an uneasy feeling that day of a change impending. In Dean Stanley's words : " In the meeting of that old man with the two strangers in the lane at Harbledown, how completely do we read, in miniature, the whole history of the coming revolution of Europe."

toria Regis Henrici Septimi," by Bernard Andreas, ed. by Gairdner, 1858, i., p. xix.

CHAPTER XII.

APPROACH OF THE END.

Preparations for retiring from public life.—The Carthusian monastery at Shene.—Discipline of its inmates.—Visitations of the plague.—Colet's ill-health.—His last letters.—His duties at St. Paul's discharged by Pace.—Last will and testament.—His death.

SOME years before his death, Colet seems to have thought seriously of retiring from the world. This disposition on his part is plainly shown in a letter to Erasmus, dated October 20th, 1514.¹ There, after briefly saying that the Bishop of London did not cease to harass him, he concludes: "I am daily thinking of my retirement, and of my retreat with the Carthusians. My nest there is almost finished. So far as I can conjecture, you will find me there, on your return, dead to the world."

It was not unnatural for such feelings to have entered his mind at the time. He had lately been threatened with a prosecution for heresy by his own bishop. Still more recently he had been misrepresented to the king, and a determined effort made to shut out the light of the royal favour from him. All this would tend to make him weary of public life. On the other hand, his great work of founding St. Paul's School was now complete. If he withdrew from the scene, he would know that it was left in such working order, as to go on without his supervision. Moreover, the large sums spent upon it must have been a heavy drain upon his resources. Writing to

¹ The date attached to the letter in the Leyden edition is 1516. But that it should be 1514 appears certain from the mention in it of Wolsey's promotion to the Archbishopric of York as a piece of news. See the "Oxford Reformers," p. 305.

Erasmus a couple of years afterwards,¹ he expresses his surprise that Erasmus should apply the term *felix* to him. "If you speak of fortune, though I am not without any, yet mine is not a large one, and barely sufficient for my expenses." And on another occasion, in answer to an appeal Erasmus had made to him on behalf of a poor but promising young English scholar, afterwards Professor of Greek at Leyden, he was constrained to say: "I am surprised at your writing to me about Richard Croke. What have I to do with other people's money? Whence should you judge, or suspect, that I have sums in hand, howsoever entrusted to me? I do not stand by the bedsides of dying men, or pay court to widows of fortune, or have a finger in rich people's wills, or seek the intimacy of the wealthy, or speak smoothly of their sins, or bid them expiate their offences by placing sums of money at my disposal. Believe me, that no one in our country, who is not that way inclined, will easily have money to dispose of in charity. I have in my hands no money but my own; and what I am spending that on, you know."

It will thus be seen that various reasons were combining to tempt Colet to seek a retirement from public life in the year 1514. That his thoughts should turn to the Carthusian monastery at Shene speaks well for the character that community then bore. With his mind full of Dionysian ideals, the ordinary life of the cloister, as he saw it about him, had probably more to repel than to attract. Erasmus no doubt represents his feeling on the subject correctly: "Though no one approved of Christian devotion more than he, yet he had but very little

¹ The letter is printed in Knight, p. 270. The pleasantry in which Colet indulges a little later on in this letter, "*si humiliter mendicaveris,*" &c., is somewhat forced, and has exposed him to misrepresentation, as if it were to be taken quite seriously. Hence Nisard, "*Renaissance et Réforme*" (1877), p. 43, speaks of Colet as "*un homme fort serré;*" and elsewhere, while admitting his high qualities ("*homme d'une vertu héroïque,*" &c.), yet qualifies his praise by reflecting on his love of money: "*dont il était fort avare et dont il ne se séparait que s'il était tiré par une passion plus forte; du reste, ayant perfectionné l'art de refuser avec politesse et de payer les gens avec des compliments.*" This last remark is altogether unjust.

liking for monasteries—undeserving of the name as many of them now are. The gifts he bestowed upon them were either none, or the smallest possible; and he left them no share of his property even at his death. The reason was not that he disliked religious orders, but that those who took them did not come up to their profession. It was, in fact, his own wish to disconnect himself entirely from the world, if he could only have found a fraternity anywhere really bound together for a gospel life.”¹ It would seem that among the Carthusians of Shene, if anywhere in this country, Colet would have found something of the primitive strictness and devotion he sought.

The house of Jesus of Bethlehem, on the Richmond side of the river, together with that of Sion on the Isleworth bank, made in reality the two halves of a joint community. Both owed their foundation to Henry V. Forty Carthusian monks were the nucleus of the establishment at Shene. The community of the “Daughters of Syon” across the water numbered eighty-five—the number of the thirteen apostles and the seventy-two disciples together.² Though splendidly endowed, their wealth does not appear to have been a snare to them. At least it is stated that no fault could be found against the nuns “even by such men as Layton and Bedell.”³

How severe were the rules of the order may be seen from the contents of a little manuscript volume, that apparently once belonged to the monastery at Shene,⁴ entitled, “*Formulare Carthusianorum*.” In the form of admission of a novice, after

¹ “Lives of Vitrier and Colet,” p. 34. Erasmus adds that Colet used to praise “certain Germans, among whom there even yet lingered, as he said, some traces of primitive religion,” and also that he spoke of having found “some monks of true wisdom and piety among the Italians.”

² See Tanner’s “*Notitia Monastica*,” under “Surrey, xix.,” and Blunt’s “*Myroure of oure Lady*” (1873), *Introd.*, pp. xiv.-xix.!

³ Blunt, *ib.*, p. xix.

⁴ Lansdowne MSS., No. 1201. The writing is described as being of the fifteenth century. It consists of sixty-one leaves of thick vellum, and is beautifully written. At the top of leaf 5 the word “Shene” can still be discerned, in faded ink.

setting forth the "lenght and prolixitie of the divine office," the prior is directed to say: "For your body you are to weare a shirte of heare, and a cord aboute your loynes, and a wolen shirte. You are to lye upon strawe or a bed of chaff, with a blanket betweene. For your diet, it is a perpetuall abstinence from flesh, in so much that in the greatest or most daingerous sicknes you can expect no dispensation therein. Also a good parte of the yeare wee abstaine from all whitmeates, as in Advent, Lent, and all the Fridays of the yeare For silence and solitude, it ought to be perpetuall, except when our statutes giveth licence, or that you aske leave." Then follows an enumeration of certain services to train and discipline the novice "in the purgative way," menial tasks of sweeping, and the like; "which workes, by howe much they are more vile and contemptible in the eyes of the world, by soe much they are more pretious and meritorious in the sight of Almighty God."

It is not to be supposed, however, that Colet intended, by becoming professed, to undergo this austere *régime*. It was no unusual thing for persons, who could afford it, to attach themselves more or less closely to a monastic body, and share, more or less strictly, in their observances. So it was with the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII., in her latter years. So it appears to have been, at this very convent at Isleworth, with Lady Kingston, and other "borders."¹ And in some such unattached manner it would appear that Colet designed to live, in the "nest" which he had begun to build for himself at Shene. *Sic vos non vobis nidificatis* might have

¹ See the "Myroure of oure Ladye," as above, Introd., p. xxix. In a letter to me on the subject, the editor of that work, the late Rev. J. H. Blunt, after referring to the practice of great people going to religious houses, and residing there temporarily, continued: "As to Colet and Shene, I suspect the statement that he built a house at Shene is to be taken as meaning that he added to the Monastery there, and lived (not professed) in the part which he had added. I take it that both he and Wolsey became inmates of the house in the sense that they dwelt under the monks' roof, took what part they wished in the devotional life of the place, and paid—if poor Wolsey had any money left—for the privilege."

been truly said of the builder in this case. That he did really go into residence at the Charterhouse at Shene some time or other before his death, seems certain from the bequest in his Will to John Banbrughe of "my bed at Charterhous that I ley upon my self, with matresse and blanketts to the said bed belonging," as well as by the reference in the same document to "my logyng at the Charterhous," with "bordwork made of waynskott, as tables, trestils, greate coffers, cupboards, and paynted images upon the walls." But he could only have been an inmate of his new lodging for a very short time. Wolsey soon became its tenant,¹ himself a still more striking example of the melancholy adage. For the very shrine he had prepared for his own bones to repose in, was used long afterwards to enclose the remains of England's great naval hero.²

What intervened to make Colet postpone his purpose of retiring from the world, we cannot certainly tell. If we accept the date assigned to the letter before quoted, Colet was actively preparing for such a retirement in 1514. According to Erasmus,³ his purpose was only prevented by his death. "He said that he was preparing an abode for his old age, when he should be no longer equal to his work, or be enfeebled by sickness, and so compelled to retire from society. There he was minded to philosophize with two or three chosen old friends, among whom he was accustomed to reckon myself. But death forestalled him." The completion and furnishing of the building would of course take some time. In that interval Colet's mind may have rallied from the depression, which a prosecution for heresy, coming as the reward of his faithful Convocation sermon, would not unnaturally cause. Perhaps the events of the next two years inspired him with fresh hope. The election of Wolsey to the Cardinalate in September, 1515, might possibly encourage him to believe that the cause of true learning would now have a powerful protector. It was

¹ Blunt, "Reformation of the Church of England" (1869), i., p. 48, n. Erasmus describes the building as "*ædes magnificentissimas*." See further the note at the end of Appendix D.

² Milman, "St. Paul's" (1869), p. 485. ³ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 29.

to the Cardinal, as we have noticed, that he turned for help in his last efforts to get a reformed body of Statutes enacted for St. Paul's. The consciousness that there was in them both a common love of learning, and, to some degree at least, a common desire of reform, might animate him to preach the installation sermon at Westminster more hopefully than he had preached that before the clergy at St. Paul's. It would have pained him to have to think that on Wolsey, "encircled by the whole obsequious hierarchy and peerage of England," his words of honest counsel and admonition would fall "like drops of rain on the hide of a buffalo."¹ Wearied with the opposition of men who could publicly denounce his new school as "a useless institution, a mischievous institution, nay, a very home of idolatry,"² he might be justified in hoping for the spread of more enlightened notions, now that one who had himself been a schoolmaster at Oxford, one who was his own junior, had been invested with the ample powers of a legate *a latere*.

Not less cheering would be the appearance of two works, two great works by friends and fellow-workers of his own, which saw the light in the following year. On the 7th of March, 1515-16, Erasmus could announce that his edition of the Greek Testament—the first published edition of the Greek text which the world had seen—was out of the printer's hands. And in October, 1516, More sent off to Louvain, for publication there, the introductory book which completed his "Utopia."³ After being taken to task for allowing the classical poets to be taught in his school, and hearing the maxim ever buzzed about, *cave a Græcis, ne hæreticus fias*, it would be refreshing to Colet to read such a passage as the following in his friend's new work: ⁴—

¹ Milman, as above, p. 123.

² The speaker who used these words was a bishop, but Colet charitably withholds his name in the letter to Erasmus in which he relates the incident.

³ See the "Oxford Reformers," pp. 319, 379. Mr. Seebohm gives a full analysis of the "Utopia," and of the "Novum Instrumentum."

⁴ "Utopia," part ii., ch. vii. (Roberts's edition, 1878, p. 300.)

“When they [the Utopians] had heard me speak of the Greek literature or learning (for in Latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides histories and poets), they made wonderful earnest and importunate suit unto me, that I would teach and instruct them in that tongue and learning. . . . Therefore, in less than three years space, there was nothing in the Greek tongue that they lacked.”

It would be beside our purpose to enter here into any discussion of the merits of these two works of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. It will be enough to notice the terms in which Colet acknowledged the receipt of a copy of the “*Novum Instrumentum*.” After speaking of the pleasure it had given him to hear of the whereabouts of Erasmus, through Peter Meghen, he continues :—“I understand what you say in your letter about the New Testament. The copies of your new edition are both eagerly bought and everywhere read here. Many approve and admire your work ; some also disapprove and carp at it, making the same objections as are found in Martin Dorpius’ letter to you. But these latter are the divines whom, in your ‘Praise of Folly’ and elsewhere, you portray as truly as cleverly ; men whose praise is blame, and whose blame is praise. For my part I love your work, and welcome this new edition of yours, but with conflicting feelings. For at one moment I am vexed at not having learnt Greek, without a knowledge of which we are helpless ; at another, I would fain rejoice in the light you have poured forth from the sun of your intellect. Indeed, Erasmus, I marvel at your prolific powers, daily conceiving and bringing to the birth such great works, and producing them in such a finished state ; especially as you have no settled resting-place, and are not assisted by any fixed stipends of any moment. We are looking for your St. Jerome, a writer who owes much to you : I especially, who shall now, thanks to you, read him both corrected and explained. You have done well to write on the ‘Instruction of a Christian Prince.’ I wish Christian Princes would follow good instructions. By their fits of madness all things are involved in confusion As to the

quiet resting-place you say you long for, I too long for it on your account ; a resting-place, such as your age and learning demand, both quiet and happy. I long, moreover, that that last resting-place of yours might be with us, if we were worthy of so great a man. What we are, you have often experienced : still you have here some who respect you most highly . . . What you say of Christian *philosophizing* is true. There is, I believe, no one at the present time in all Christendom more fit and qualified by manifold learning than you are, for that object and profession. You do not say so yourself ; but I declare only what I think. I have read your commentary on the first Psalm, and admire your fertility of mind. I still want the commentary you have been preparing on the 'Romans.' Do not stop, Erasmus ; but now that you have given us the New Testament in Latin,¹ illustrate it also with your expositions, and with commentaries of full length on the Gospels. Length with you is brevity. The appetite will grow, if the digestive powers be healthy, in reading what you have written. If you unlock the meaning—as none can do better than yourself—you will confer a great benefit on those who love the Scriptures, and will immortalize your name. Immortalize, do I say ? The name of Erasmus will never perish : but you will bring lasting glory on your name ; and, toiling now in Jesus, will win for yourself eternal life."

Meantime, however, a cause was at work, that was soon to force Colet into a retirement, from which he would be liberated only by death. This was the failure of his own health. The fresh hopes that may have been raised in his mind by the powerful help which his friends More and Erasmus were lending to the cause of true religion and letters, the encouragement shown him by the king, in making him one of his Privy Council,² were all crushed through his prostration by disease.

¹ If the text is correct, this must refer to the new Latin translation which Erasmus had added to the Greek text. But the word used, *Latinis*, does not look genuine.

² If we are to trust the statement of Erasmus, "Thomas Morus est regi a consiliis, atque item Coletus."—"Epist." (ed. 1642), p. 375.

Some ^{thirty} twenty years before, in the autumn of 1485, a new and fatal disorder had been observed to follow in the train of Henry's victorious army. "It was a violent inflammatory fever," says a writer who has made the subject his special study,¹ "which, after a short rigor, prostrated the powers as with a blow; and, amidst painful oppression at the stomach, headache, and lethargic stupor, suffused the whole body with a fetid perspiration." The long-continued rainfalls of 1485, coming after a succession of wet years, appear to have left the ground in a very unhealthy condition. The hurried and anxious marches of Henry's troops would render them doubly susceptible of the bad influences of the malaria thus caused. The additional eating and drinking, in connection with the rejoicing after the battle of Bosworth, would accelerate the spread of the disorder in London. And so we find that between September 21st, 1485, and the end of the following month the sweating sickness raged in the capital with fearful virulence. If anyone casts his eye down the long list of Lord Mayors of London, he will find three names for the year extending from Michaelmas 1484 to Michaelmas 1485. Two of these, Thomas Hill and William Stocker, fell victims in succession,—the latter almost as soon as he had put on his robes.² The crisis was generally over within twenty-four hours. If a person, when seized, had the sense to keep himself warm in bed, neither exposed to cold, nor unduly heated, he had the best chance of recovery. Refrigerants were fatal, as were also any attempts to intensify the perspiration. Physicians seem to have been of little help. Even

¹ Hecker, "Epidemics of the Middle Ages," translated by Dr. Babington, 1844, p. 181. He elsewhere describes it as "an inflammatory rheumatic fever, with great disorder of the nervous system."

² See Hecker, as above, p. 183, n. One of the most pathetic instances of the fatal rapidity of this disease, was that of the two sons, Henry and Charles, of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The elder was attacked by it at Buckden, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, and carried off in five hours. They tried hard to keep the news from his younger brother, but he followed him in half an hour after. See Machyn's "Diary" (ed. by J. G. Nichols), 1848, p. 318, n.

Linacre failed either to devise any special remedy for the disease, or to leave any careful record of it. Four subsequent visitations are related by the historian whose account we follow: ¹ those of 1506, 1517, 1528, and 1551. Of these, that of 1517 appears to have been the most terrible. "Of the common sort," says Godwin, ² "they were numberlesse that perished by it." Ammonius of Lucca, and other friends of Colet, fell victims in this fatal year. It raged, as before, during August and September.

It was probably at this visitation of the plague in 1517, that Colet himself was seized by it. Erasmus, indeed, speaks of the final attack in 1519 as the third.³ At what time the first seizure occurred, if we are to assume that it was before 1517, we are not told. But it is certain that London was visited by this malady at other seasons than those specially noted by Hecker. In 1508, for example, we have a record of prayers being offered up in St. Paul's for averting the sweating sickness, and of the Court moving about to avoid the plague.⁴

Whatever may have been the time at which Colet was first attacked by this malady, it seems clear, from several indications, that his strength had failed him before the close of 1517. For several years in succession he had been the preacher before the Court during the Fridays in Lent.⁵ According to Professor Brewer,⁶ his name is found in this capacity for the years 1510-17 inclusive, with the exception of 1514. As regards this year last mentioned, it might not unnaturally be the case that, after the determined effort made to get him into trouble with Henry for his sermon on the previous Good Friday, it was thought prudent for him to

¹ Hecker, *ib.*, pp. 330-8.

² "Annales," 1630, p. 27.

³ "Having been seized a few years before with the sweating sickness (a disease that is the special scourge of England), he was now for the third time attacked by it."—"Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 29.

⁴ "Historia regis Henrici Septimi," as before, p. 127.

⁵ See Longland's "Quinque Sermones," fol. 54, "Coletus Froicoque jam ante relatis in numerum sanctorum patrum, designatus sum ut coram sua majestate . . . contiones haberem singulis quadragenarii jejunii sextis feriis."

⁶ Quoted by Seeböhm, "Oxford Reformers," p. 482, n.

intermit the office for a time. The spring of 1517, in the autumn of which year the sweating-sickness appeared in all its destructiveness, was thus the last occasion on which Colet discharged the duty of Lenten Preacher before the king.

It accords with this view that we have little or nothing of Colet's to refer to the year 1517, after the Lent services were over, except a couple of letters,—one to Erasmus, the other to Wolsey. The occasion of the former was briefly this: A copy of Reuchlin's newly published "*De Arte Cabalistica*" had been sent by Erasmus to Bishop Fisher; but by some accident of delivery it had come into Colet's hands, and been read by him, before reaching its destination.¹ On this Colet wrote:—

"I am half angry with you, Erasmus, for sending greetings to me in letters written to others, and not to myself. For, though I have no mistrust of our friendship, yet this indirect greeting, in letters to other people, makes others conclude that you are not so attached to me as you really are. On another account also I am inclined to be angry with you, for having sent Reuchlin's '*Cabalistica*' to the Bishop of Rochester, and not to me. Not that I would have had you send no copy to him, but that I should have liked one sent to myself at the same time; for I take such pleasure in your affection, that I am pained when I see you less mindful of me than of others. The book came to my hands, and I read it hastily through, before it was delivered to the Bishop. It is a book about which I dare not pronounce an opinion. I am aware how ignorant I am, and how dim-sighted in matters so transcendental, and in the works of so great a man. And yet, as I read, it seemed to me at times that the wonders were more verbal than real; for, according to his system, Hebrew words have something mysterious in their very characters and combinations. Erasmus! of books and of knowledge there is

¹ As the work itself bears the imprint "*Mense Martio MDXVII.*," the copy in question probably reached Colet and was acknowledged by him, before the sweating-sickness broke out in the autumn.

no end. But for this short life there is nothing better than that we should live in purity and holiness, and daily endeavour to be purified and enlightened, and fulfil¹ what is promised in these Pythagorean and Cabalistic treatises of Reuchlin. This result, in my judgment, we shall attain by no other way, than by an ardent love and imitation of Jesus Christ. Wherefore, leaving detours, let us take a short road to attain it quickly. I would fain do so to the best of my power. Farewell."

It is difficult to read this letter without admiring alike the candour, the common sense, and the spirit of true Christian humility which it displays.

The other letter referred to is dated the 18th of December [1517?], and was thus, it would seem probable, written later than the one to Erasmus.² If so, it possesses the interest of being the latest letter of Colet's we possess. Its subject is a request for ecclesiastical preferment, made by the surmaster of his school, John Rightwise, who had asked the good offices of the dean to procure him an audience of Wolsey.

"Most Reverend Father,

"The bearer of this letter is the Surmaster of my Grammar School, a man of good learning and unquestionably high character. He has some matter of business with your Eminence, and has applied to me for a letter to gain him an introduction to your presence. I beg you, of your courtesy, to deign to admit him freely to an interview with you. As I understand, his errand is about some benefice that has been resigned. He is well worthy of even an important benefice

¹ In the terms used by Colet, "ut purificemur, illuminemur, et perficiamus," &c., there is a plain allusion to the familiar language of Dionysius about "purification, illumination and perfection." But instead of using the word *perficiamur*, and ending there, Colet gives another turn to the sentence.

² It bears only the date of the month, and the year has thus to be inferred. Brewer ("Letters and Papers," i., p. 1202), enters it, no doubt correctly, under 1517. The reference in it to medical advice seems to point to its being written after the sickness of 1517, as the absence of all such reference in the letter to Erasmus just quoted seems to point to a time before it. The Latin text is given in Sir Henry Ellis's "Original Letters," 3rd series, i., p. 190. See also the "Letters to Radulphus," Appendix, p. 313.

in the Church ;¹ and on that account, in my opinion, whatever you confer upon him will be an excellent bestowal of your favour. I will call upon your Eminence before your departure. I trust you always keep as well as possible ; and, to preserve your health the better, I trust you have but few dealings with doctors and their art. All they do is to make great promises.² Farewell."

Perhaps Colet wrote these last words with some bitterness of spirit. How far he was incapacitated by sickness for any exertion in public, we can only conjecture. But on two prominent occasions, one in 1518, and the other in 1519, he was to all appearance absent from St. Paul's, when his presence there, if he had been in health, would have been most properly looked for. One of these was the proclamation of peace, "the eternal peace," between the kings of England and France, the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, and the betrothal of Mary, sister to Henry VIII., to the Dauphin of France. "The King entered the Cathedral," we read,³ "with the two Legates, all the Ambassadors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and about twelve Bishops, with some six Abbots, besides

¹ It will be noticed that the same question is thus raised, in the case of Rightwise, as was discussed (*ante*, p. 147, n.) in the case of Lily. Rightwise married Dionysia, the daughter of William Lily, and succeeded to the High Mastership of St. Paul's in 1523. Whatever his present request was, he does not seem to have obtained it.

² It has been mentioned before that in 1511-12 an act was passed restraining anyone from practising as a physician or surgeon within the City of London, or seven miles round, without a certificate from the Bishop of London, or the Dean of St. Paul's, acting on the report of four doctors of medicine as examiners. In spite of this salutary restriction, the healing art for long after was often left to the grossest charlatans. Army surgeons in particular were in bad repute. See Thomas Gale's description of them in Hecker, "Epidemics," p. 269, n. As regards the sweating sickness in particular, which Colet has probably here in mind, the English physicians (even the more intelligent of them, as Linacre) seem to have been helpless or apathetic. Hecker (p. 265), speaks of "the blameable silence of the English physicians, of whom . . . not an individual had written on the Sweating Sickness, or proposed a reasonable line of treatment, since the year 1485."

³ Milman, "St. Paul's," p. 175, from the Calendar of State Papers from the Archives of Venice, edited by Rawdon Brown, vol. ii., p. 78.

Dukes, Marquises, and Earls." Mass was sung by Wolsey. Which ended, "the Legates in their mitres went out of the choir, and from a scaffold simultaneously gave their benediction to the people, and then returning to the altar did the like again to the King and the others; after which Sir Richard Pace (not yet Dean of St. Paul's) made a good and sufficiently long oration, delivering it excellently: whereupon the King, together with the three French ambassadors, . . . flanked by the two Legates, swore at the high altar perpetual peace between the King of France and the King of England."

As it happens, we have this "good and sufficiently long oration" preserved to us, since it was published in the same year.¹ And we are thus enabled to compare Pace's manner of preaching before king and cardinal, with what we have before seen to be Colet's, under similar circumstances. This is the tone in which he addresses Henry in person:²—

"And that religious character (*sanctitas*) of your most candid mind is far more admirable on this account, that when Nature was intent on giving you birth, she seems to have had no thought of anything else, than how to fashion a consummate leader, alike for the sagacious undertaking of wars, and for their prosperous completion. For, as the beholder gazes more steadfastly upon you, he sees war breathing forth from all the handsome aspect of your most comely person, and from the incomparable shapeliness and well-knit proportion of all your limbs. For you are tall, stalwart, active, mighty, and strong to such a degree, that you distance and leave far behind any, no matter whom, that would display their strength of body, whether in earnest or in jest."

Later on, he compliments, though not in this elaborate manner, the two Cardinal Legates present, Wolsey and Campeggio. Now, without seeking to disparage Master Richard

¹ Its full title is, "Oratio Richardi Pacei in pace nuperrime composita et fœdere percusso inter invictissimum Angliæ regem et Francorum regem Christianissimum in æde divi Pauli Londini habita." In ædibus Joannis Gormontii. 4º., 1518.

² Leaf B. 1, *verso*. I translate the Latin closely, though not able to bring in all the superlatives.

Pace, who was an able and learned man,¹ I think no one can compare the above passage with Colet's language before king and court, without feeling how the sincerity of the one towers above the adulation of the other. If Pace were, in any sense, acting as Colet's deputy on this occasion, it may help us to understand how Colet might have been practically discharging the duties of the deanery, during Sherborne's absence abroad, some time before his own formal appointment; just as Dr. Sampson, in fact, discharged the like duties when Pace became deranged, for some years before he was finally appointed his successor.

Once more St. Paul's is the scene of a splendid ceremony. "On July 15, 1519, the Venetian ambassadors were invited to attend the ceremony of the proclamation of the Emperor (Charles V.) in St. Paul's Cathedral. They were taken to the appointed places by two knights of the King's chamber, and found there Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, the ambassador of the Catholic King, and all the chief lords of the kingdom. The French ambassador refused to attend. When all were assembled in the church *Te Deum* was chanted, and Cardinal Wolsey gave the benediction. Then the unanimous election of the Catholic King, as King of the Romans, was proclaimed by two heralds."²

Though we cannot be certain that Colet was not present at this ceremony, the absence of any mention of him makes it probable that he was not. Somewhat unexpectedly, indeed, we find that in the summer of this year (1519) he was well enough to pay a visit to Oxford, where he is recorded to have

¹ "*Campeius*. My lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace
In this man's place before him?

Wolsey.

Yes, he was.

Campeius. Was he not held a learned man?

Wolsey.

Yes, surely."

Shakspeare, "Henry VIII.," act ii., sc. 2.

One cannot but wish that Shakspeare had had the portrait of Colet presented to his mind, if only in its simple outlines.

² Milman, as above, p. 176, quoting the Venetian Despatches, ii., p. 543.

dined on two occasions with his friend Grocyn, at the table of Exeter College.¹ But after this, at all events, his health began rapidly to give way. Erasmus does not say at what time the third attack of sweating-sickness seized him, but adds that, "though he recovered from it to some degree, an internal disorder ensued from what the disease left behind it, of which he died." For some time past he had been, as it were, setting his house in order, and putting the finishing hand to works already begun. On the 18th of June, 1518, he had completed his School Statutes, and given a fair copy into the hands of the Master, William Lily, with a memorandum in his own writing that it should be preserved in the school.² On the 1st of September, in the same year, he had made his final effort for the better government of the Cathedral, by his "Exhibita" to Cardinal Wolsey.³

By the autumn of 1519, his strength seems completely to have broken down. He had recovered in some degree, Erasmus tells us, from the third attack of the sweating-sickness; but "an internal wasting disorder ensued from what the disease left behind it, of which he died. One physician pronounced him dropsical."⁴ Whatever were the precise nature of the

¹ See the note before, p. 27.

² "Hunc libellum ego Ioannes Colet tradidi in manibus Magistri Lillii xviii^o die Junii a^o Nⁱ. M.CCCC.XVIII. ut eum in scola servet et observet." See, for the history of this copy, the Introduction to the "Treatise on the Sacraments," p. 3. Another copy is carefully preserved at Mercers' Hall.

³ See the "Registrum Statutorum," of Dr. Simpson, pp. 237, *sqq.* and above, p. 132.

⁴ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 29. Erasmus adds, "Nothing fresh was discovered by the post-mortem examination, except that the liver was found to have the extremities of the lobes rough with tuft-like excrescences" (*nisi quod hepar repertum est extremas fibras cirrhis prominentibus hirsutum*). On the meaning of the terms thus employed, I consulted my friend David R. Pearson, Esq., M.D., who kindly informs me that such a "wasting disease" (*viscerum tabes*) as Erasinus seems to describe, might be produced by *cirrhosis* of the liver, in which there are yellow granulations, and it is usually shrunken and hardened. Dr. Pearson adds that the form of "wasting disease" now known as *tabes mesenterica*, produces swelling of the abdomen, which may have misled the physician referred to as pronouncing the case one of dropsy.

malady from which he suffered, by the 22nd of August, 1519, we find him describing himself as "of whole mind and memory," but plainly not whole in body, of which he makes no mention. On that day he made his will, both of his real and personal property. The bulk of his landed estate, comprising manors and farms in various counties, he bequeathed to various members of his mother's family—Edmund, Christopher, and Antony Knyvet—the bequest to take effect after Dame Christian's death. During her lifetime, his mother was to enjoy undisturbed possession. The Wendover property was left to a relation by the father's side, John Colet, the son of William Colet of Wendover.¹ But more noticeable are the substantial provisions made for faithful servants. One such, William Newbold, is to have a rent-charge of 40s., equivalent to about £25 per annum. Another, John Neale, is left a considerable estate in the hundreds of East Flegg and West Flegg, Norfolk. The substantial provision made for a third, apparently his most confidential servant, William Bowerman, has been referred to before.² Even those who had left his service are not forgotten. "Bartillmewe Barham, sometyme my servant" is to have "a silver pott, having on the ere wryten John Colett."

As his school had been already endowed, there is no provision for it in either of the wills. But those who had been scholars in his house are thought of. "I will that Thomas Lupeshed my schollar be remember'd after the discrecion of myn executors, and to have all suche bookes prynted as may be most necessary for his lernyng." And again: "all my bokes imprinted in paper I will also by them"—his executors—"be disposed to poore studentes, and especially to suche as hath bene schollars withe me." For his own fame as a writer, though Erasmus had often urged him to publish some of his

¹ The two wills are printed in Knight, pp. 400-409, but very incorrectly, especially that of the real property. Thus (p. 404), "11 hundred acres of lond" is given for "ii hundred" (*eleven* for *two*). "Weldon" (p. 407) appears instead of "Wendov" (Wendover), and so on.

² Above, p. 152.

commentaries, Colet was not solicitous. He simply left his manuscripts to his executors, for them to do what they thought proper with. "Item, the New Testament,¹ and oder of myne own making wryten in parchement, as Coments on Paulis Epesteles, and Abbreviacions, with many such other, I will shall be disposed at the disposicion of myn executours, whiche disposicion I leve to theire discrecion."

Two circumstances have been remarked, in connection with Colet's testamentary bequests. One is, that there is no mention of Erasmus, or any legacy to him: the other, that there is nothing bequeathed for the usual "month's mind," or any similar commemoration of the testator.

As to Erasmus, while we may think it natural that some token of regard should have been left him, we must bear in mind that Colet had been a good friend to him in the earlier and more struggling years of his life, and that he was now in comparative affluence. Still we should have liked to find some allusion to him. As to the other circumstance, it is an undoubted and noticeable fact, that, while Colet makes bequests of vestments to various churches, he is silent about what is usually so prominently mentioned in wills of that period. Not a penny is bequeathed for obits, trentals, or anything of the kind. Neither is there any bequest to religious houses. In this last respect he was consistent. "The gifts he bestowed upon them," Erasmus has recorded, "were either none, or the smallest possible, and he left them no share of his property even at his death." In this absence of all direction for commemorative masses, Colet's will presents a striking contrast to that of his own father, or of his friend Grocyn. Sir Henry Colet, by his will dated Sept. 27th, 1505, desires that "two honest chaplyns of good name and fame" be appointed, to say mass for the space of fifteen years, the one in Stepney Church, and the other in St. Anthony's, and to pray for his soul and the souls of his kindred, and of all Chris-

¹ This was probably the fine MS. described above, p. 63, n. It was given to the University by Archbishop Parker. See "*Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*," by T. I. (Thomas James), 1600, pp. 67-69.

tian people.¹ Grocyn in like manner, whose will was made only a couple of months before Colet's, in naming Linacre as his executor and residuary legatee, directs him to bestow such part of his goods as it shall please him for a like purpose. That Colet, as well as his friend Erasmus, should thus stand in contrast to the common practice of their time, is significant of the religious position they each held.

Having thus arranged all matters of worldly business, Colet might calmly await the inevitable summons. It was not long in coming. On the 11th of September Pace wrote to Wolsey that "the Dean of St. Paul's had lain continually since Thursday *in extremis*, but was not yet dead."² He lingered till the 16th, when he died, at the age of fifty-three. To Erasmus the news came as a great shock. His letters written about that time are full of it. In writing on the eve of St. Luke's day following (October 17th) to the Bishop of Rochester, he broke out into this generous utterance of his sorrow:—"Thus far have I written, grieving for the death of Colet; a death so bitter to me that the loss of no one for the last thirty years has afflicted me more. I know that it is well with him, who has been taken from this wicked and troublesome world, and is enjoying the presence of his Christ, whom in his lifetime he so dearly loved. In the public interest I cannot but lament the loss of so rare a pattern of Christian piety, so unique a preacher of Christian doctrine. And on my own private account I lament so constant a friend, so matchless a patron. For what alone remains, in lieu of funeral obsequies, this duty I will discharge for him; if my writings are of any avail, I will not suffer the memory of such a man to die out among posterity."³ In similar terms he writes to Voltzius, to Pace, to Mountjoy, to Budæus, and others.⁴ To Lupset and Dancaster

¹ Knight's "Life of Colet," p. 398. The ii is here also misprinted 11.

² The passage is quoted in "Oxford Reformers," p. 503, from Ellis, "Original Letters," 3rd series, letter lxxx.

³ "Epistolæ," 1642, col. 619.

⁴ *Ib.*, cols. 615-626. As all these letters are dated near the middle of October, it would seem as if the news had then just reached Erasmus at Louvain. In his letter to Budæus he speaks of dropsy as the cause of

in particular, the one a scholar, the other either a scholar or a friend of Colet's, he writes pressingly for such full information as would enable him to redeem the promise made in his letter to Bishop Fisher, of preparing a biography of his lost friend. "I long," he says to the former, "to dedicate his memory to posterity. Do you, of your dutiful affection towards him, undertake this task for me, to inform me of such things in particular as you consider I am not acquainted with." By the same post (October 16th) he wrote to William Dancaster a short letter, filled with the most heartfelt expressions of grief at the loss of "such a teacher, such a patron, such a friend;" and adding, "I will write his Life, if you and others like yourself first give me information on points that may be unknown to me. I earnestly request you to do so."¹ Erasmus nobly redeemed his promise. Did Colet's fame rest solely with him, the account he has left us of him would not have suffered him to be forgotten. That his memoir of his friend was not a more complete one than it is, was due, not to any failing of interest on his own part, but to the remissness of his correspondents at St. Paul's, in not furnishing him with ampler materials. Writing to Lupset from Bruges, September 1st, 1520, he says:—"I have finished the Life of Colet within the compass of a letter. If it is thought to be not very artistically portrayed, the fault will be partly set down to you, for not having fully provided me with those embellishments of the picture, which none could have done better than yourself."

death; such having probably been the first report that he received: "*Joannes Coletus, vir optimus mihiq̃ue certissimus amicus Londini periit hydrope.*"

¹ "Epistolæ," col. 624. "Master Dancaster" is mentioned in Colet's will, where he is to "have in money to support him in hys vertue six pounds xiiis. iiiid." This may perhaps point to his having been a scholar of Colet's, now studying for ordination. Erasmus's letter to him, apart from its main topic, touches only upon theological topics. He was familiar with Colet's household, as Erasmus sends a message by him to the steward, Gerhard or Garrard. The latter was one of Colet's three executors, the other two being his mother and Nicholas Curlews (Receiver of St. Paul's, "*Registrum Statut.*," p. 214, and parson of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street; Brewer's "*State Papers, Hen. VIII.*," part i., p. 262).

Perhaps there was some excuse for Lupset. He had been dangerously ill when Erasmus thus wrote. He was a hard student, but one who preferred to keep the results of his learning for his own private use and enjoyment, rather than publish them for the benefit of others.¹ Still, considering how much he could have told us about his benefactor's domestic life, about the early years of his great school, about the Cathedral and its chequered history, it is deeply to be regretted that Lupset did not respond more adequately to the generous call of Erasmus, and furnish that colouring for the picture which must now be for ever missed.

¹ "Quum omnia potius ad privatum usum penes se domi suæ vivens deponeret, quam alibi post mortem publicanda relinqueret."—Pauli Jovii "Elogia," 1561, p. 95.

CHAPTER XIII.

COLET'S MONUMENT.

Interment in St. Paul's.—Fate of his monument.—Busts and Portraits.—Proposed memorial.

AS Erasmus briefly tells us, Colet "was buried at the south side of the choir in his cathedral, in a modest sepulchre, chosen by himself some years before for the purpose, with the inscription placed over it: IOAN. COL." The exact spot is marked on an engraving of the ground-plan of the cathedral, made by Daniel King in 1658.¹ It was at the south-east angle of the choir, near the place where Donne's monument was afterwards erected. What further inscription it bore we are not informed, and probably it was not long before a more imposing monument was raised to his memory by the Mercers' Company. The earliest description I can find of this is in the "Monumenta Sepulchraria" of H. H. (Henry Holland), 1614: ²—"At the entrance of the south ile of the chancell or quire lieth entombed with his lively Picture and an artificiall Askeliton, very curiously done, John Colet, D. of Divinitie, and Deane of Paules, the onely founder of Paules School. He was son of S^r Henry Colet Mercer, twice Lord Maior of London. Of whom William Lily, first Schoolemaster of the said Schoole, wrote this Epitaph, *which hangeth by his Tombe.*

'Incltya Ioannes, etc.'

¹ On King's engraving it is denoted, by a slight error in lettering, as "The Mon: of Jo: Callet." This may perhaps be the origin of the curious mis-statement in Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops" (new series, i., p. 284, n.), namely, that Dr. Knight "remarks that Calet was the usual way of pronouncing Colet."

² Leaf D. 1, *verso*.

It would thus appear, from the words which I have put in italics, that Lily's metrical epitaph was not inscribed on the monument itself, but was on a tablet suspended, or fixed to the wall, by the side of it. In other respects the monument seems to have been much as it is depicted later on in Dugdale's "St. Paul's." The "lively picture" would be the bust,¹ with which at a later date we are familiar. Before 1633 it had been embellished anew by the Governors of the School. For in that year, Holland, in his second edition,² describes it as "lately new beautified and repayred by the Company of Mercers," and as having an inscription "in guilt brasse" fixed upon it. As Holland and Dugdale agree pretty closely upon the wording, while Payne Fisher³ has preserved the arrangement of the lines, we may perhaps give the following as a fairly correct copy of the inscription :—

"Hic situs est
D. IO. COLETVS
Hujus Ecclesiæ Decanus, Theologus insignis,
Qui ad exemplum Sancti Pauli
Semper egit gratuitum Evangelicæ doctrinæ præconem,
Ac synceræ doctrinæ perpetua vitæ synceritate
Respondit.
Scholam Paulinam suo sumptu solus et instituit
Et annuo redditu dotavit.
Genus honestissimum
Christi dotibus cohonestavit,
Præcipue sobrietate mira ac pudicitia.
Nunc fruitur Evangelica margarita,
Cujus amore neglexit omnia.

¹ For "picture" in this sense, compare the entries in Mr. Gardiner's "Admission Registers" (p. 9) : "1556-7. The picture of Jesus set up agayne" ; "For payenting and gilding the same picture" ; "1561-2. For taking away the pictur out of the Scole where the Master sayeth prayers" ; the reference being to the image or statue of the Child Jesus described by Erasmus. The word is similarly used in Stow's account of the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, "When they beheld her statue or picture lying upon the coffin," &c. Compare also Proverbs xxv. 11, and the margin of Levit. xxvi. 1.

² "Ecclesia Sancti Pauli illustrata," 1633, leaf C. 3.

³ "The Tombes, Monuments," &c., 1684, p. 71.

Vixit annos 53. Administravit 16.

Obiit anno 1519.¹

Morere mundo, ut vivas Deo."

Lily's verse epitaph was as follows :²—

"Incluta Ioannes Londinæ gloria gentis,
Is tibi qui quondam, Paule, decanus erat,
Qui toties magno resonabat pectore Christum,
Doctor et interpres fidus Evangelii ;
Qui multum mores hominum sermone diserto
Formarat, vitæ sed probitate magis ;
Quique Scholam struxit celebrem cognomine Iesu,
Hac dormit tectus membra Colettus humo."

Various other sentences, both in Latin and English, were distributed over the face of the monument, and may be seen in the engraving in Dugdale.³ It is not necessary to repeat them here. The two inserted above have been given at full, both from their intrinsic merit, and from the interest they possess, as truthfully seizing and portraying the most striking features of Colet's character. The prose inscription may have been by Lupset ; it may even have been by Erasmus himself. At any rate it echoes the tone of a letter of that great scholar to Lupset, written in December, 1519. There, in a like strain, we find Erasmus dwelling on his continued labour of preaching without fee or reward, on his imitation of St. Paul, on the correspondence between his heavenly doctrine and his purity of life.⁴ If Erasmus did not pen the inscription, it is difficult

¹ In Fisher the last two lines differ considerably :—

"Ecclesiam vigil multos annos administravit
Et decessit Anno Dom. MDXVIII."

² Fisher, *ib.*, p. 72, corrected by other copies.

³ Made in 1656 at the expense of the Mercers' Company. See the inscription on the plate.

⁴ The resemblance is still more striking in the Latin :—"O verum Theologum ! o mirum Evangelicæ doctrinæ præconem ! Quanto studio vir ille imbiberat philosophiam Christi ! quam avide hauserat pectus ac spiritum divi Pauli ! Ut cælesti doctrinæ totius vitæ puritate respondit ! Quot annos ille gratis populum docuit, et hoc suum Paulum referens," &c. "Epistolæ," 1642, col. 748.

to believe that the author of it had never seen the close of his letter to Lupset.

In the great fire of 1666 this monument, like most others in the cathedral, was destroyed. Fragments of it, however, were in existence to a comparatively recent date, and may be so even yet. In 1783, Gough, the antiquary, saw some portions of it in the crypt under St. Faith's.¹ It may even be a question whether the headless bust, figured at p. 388 of Churton's "Life of Nowell," and there assumed to be the bust of Nowell, discovered in 1809, is not really the remains of the "lively portraiture" of Colet.

At the re-building of the cathedral, Colet's monument was not restored. In the necessary removal of the old stone-work his remains were disturbed by the irreverent curiosity of antiquaries, in a way that it is painful to read of;² but what is now their exact resting-place we cannot say.

Though the bust of Colet in St. Paul's thus perished, wholly or in part, a companion one, which from an early period was placed over the high master's chair in the school, fortunately escaped. It, too, went through the fiery ordeal in 1666, but with a better fate :—

"Arserat hoc templum, signo tamen ille pepercit
Ignis."

"It was afterwards found in the rubbish," says Strype, "by a curious man and searcher into city antiquities, who observed (and so told me) that it was cast and hollow, by a curious art now lost."³ As Leland, who died in 1552, wrote some Latin

¹ "Sepulchral Monuments," 1796, ii., p. cccxxiv. According to a statement in Ackermann's "History of the Public Schools" (1816), p. 25, they were then under the charge of Mr. Gould, deputy-surveyor and principal verger.

² Wood's "Athenæ," by Bliss, i., p. 26. Payne Fisher, some time before 1684, saw the coffin during its removal, and has preserved the inscription on its plate, "about the breadth of a large square trencher." His version of it agrees pretty closely with that preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, for which see Mr. Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," p. 504, n.

³ Strype's edition of Stow's "Survey" (1720), i., p. 164. As Strype

verses on this bust,¹ its antiquity is respectable. After standing for many years in the high master's house, it has now been placed at the upper end of the hall in the new building.² The marble bust which scholars of the present century will better remember, as fixed in the north wall over the high master's chair, was copied from that, "with the attitude improved," by John Bacon³ (ob. 1799), the sculptor of the statues of Howard and Johnson in St. Paul's cathedral. This also is preserved in the new school.

A few words may be said about the extant portraits of Dean Colet. These fall, in the main, into four groups: (1) those which follow the coloured chalk drawing attributed to Holbein; (2) those which follow the engraving in Holland's "Hero-ölogia," and Lupton's "Protestant Divines;" (3) those presenting a more youthful face, of which the Cambridge Vanderpuyke is a specimen; and (4) those apparently taken from the monument.

Of these, the parentage of the first group is a little doubtful. The original drawings, the engravings of which are known as Chamberlaine's Heads, from their being published by him in 1792, are said to have been discovered by Queen Caroline in a bureau at Kensington Palace. They are now in the Queen's library at Windsor. While most of them are undoubtedly by Holbein, there is this difficulty about the first of

entered St. Paul's in 1657, he would be familiar with the appearance of this bust before the Fire. The "searcher into city antiquities" whom he refers to was Bagford. As an instance of careless editing, in preparing the second edition of Knight's "Life," it may be remarked that the end of the sentence quoted above was allowed to remain in this unintelligible form:—"who observed that it was *cast; an hollow* plate whereof you have in the 'Life.'" The ingenious reader may apply a similar solvent to the enigmatical sentence ending, "grammarians explained," on p. 121.

¹ Strype, as above, and Leland's "Principum . . . Encomia" (Lond., 1589), p. 26. The lines begin:—

"Eloquio juvenes ubi Lillius ille polivit,
In statua spiras, magne Colete, tua."

² A good engraving of it by Fittler faces p. 1 of Knight's "Life." It has unfortunately been overlaid with several coats of paint.

³ Malcolm, "Londinium Redivivum" (1803), iii., p. 195.

the series, that of Colet, that if, as Chamberlaine puts it, "Holbein drew this head from the life, he must have been in England at a much earlier age than has been supposed, for he was an infant when Colet returned from his travels, and was scarcely twenty-one years old at the time of the dean's death."¹ However, he concludes that "it is not improbable that a portrait of the dean had been made while he was abroad, by some Italian painter, and that the drawing before us was copied from it by Holbein, with that enchanting grace and spirit which only his hand could give." It is a half-length, with face slightly turned to the spectator's left, and in its grave, dignified expression shows well the *suspiendi oris serenitas* of which George Lily wrote.²

In those of the second group, the countenance has a more worn look about it, as of one who had been through a dangerous illness, but it conveys an impression of greater power than the other. The face is slightly more in profile than in (1), but the dress and posture are similar. A good example of it is the old engraving in Holland's "Heroölogia," from which the frontispiece to this work is taken. In the deanery at St. Paul's is a half-length portrait, on canvas, life size, taken apparently either from Holland's engraving or from its prototype. It is remarkable as showing Colet in the scarlet cap and gown of a doctor of divinity, whereas his general custom was to wear black. No evidence, I believe, can be found to show how it came into the possession of the deanery,³ and all I can do is to supply one or two links in a possible chain. There was formerly in the possession of Thomas

¹ "Imitations of Original Drawings, &c.," p. 2.

² It was engraved in 1792 by Bartolozzi, and quite recently by Mr. R. Harris, Art Master of St. Paul's. Photographs of it can also be obtained from the Arundel Society. An oil painting of Colet, "after Holbein," is in the Combination Room at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.—Hartshorne, "Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge" (1829), p. 494.

³ So, at least, I was informed by the present Dean, who most courteously allowed me to examine the picture in question, and, if necessary, have it photographed for the purpose of engraving. Owing to Mr. George Scharf's opinion that the picture was modern, this course was not followed.

Slater-Bacon, of Catley, near Lynton, in Cambridgeshire, Esq., a picture which from the description must have been similar to this.¹ At a sale of the goods of Robert King, Esq., heir to Mr. Bacon, July 21st, 1749, this picture was bought by the Rev. W. Cole, the antiquary,² but what became of it afterwards, or whether the one now at St. Paul's is copied from it, I cannot ascertain. The mezzotint engraving by R. Houston³ gives a good idea of the portraits in this group.

The third group may be taken as represented by the painting of Vanderpuyle (c. 1740), now in the Public Library at Cambridge, and to some extent by the modern engravings of Wedgwood and Hughes. Both show the full face, or nearly so, of one in the early prime of manhood. Vanderpuyle's is spoilt, in my opinion, by the smallness of the mouth. The engravings just mentioned appear to have been copied, so far as the face is concerned, from that of Vertue, which stands at the beginning of Knight's "Life;" while the introduction of the hands crossing each other, not shown in that, seems an addition borrowed from the painting at Mercers' Hall. This latter is said to have been taken from the illuminated portrait on the old manuscript book of the school statutes there preserved;⁴ and this again, from its accessories, may be concluded to have been made from the bust on the monument. Indeed, I should be inclined to think that all the likenesses which present a full face, with the hands crossed, are derived from that source. The oldest portrait which can at present be identified as exhibiting the more youthful features, is that

¹ Knight's "Life of Colet," *Introd.*, p. xvii.

² MS. note by Cole in his copy of Knight's "Life," and J. G. Nichols' "Pilgrimage to St. Mary of Walsingham" (1849), p. 128, n.

³ On this the date of Colet's birth is incorrectly given as 1446, instead of 1466.

⁴ See a letter of John Gough Nichols to the "Times," April 26th, 1869, where it is said that "the portrait of Dean Colet, painted in 1602 as a miniature on the vellum cover of his Statutes for St. Paul's School, proves to be the original of the (very inferior) painting in the Court-room of the Mercers, which was exhibited at South Kensington in 1866." But the date of the miniature, according to Mr. Gardiner's "Admission Registers" (p. 11), should be 1585-6.

which was bought by Dr. Worthington, sometime master of Jesus College, in 1658.¹ From his possession it passed into that of Bishop Stillingfleet; after whose death it reverted to a son of the former owner.² Its subsequent history I am unable to trace. It was this which Vertue copied in his engraving for Knight's "Life," referred to above.

The portraits of the fourth class are, in some respects, the least trustworthy of all, as their original, the bust on the cathedral monument, was not executed till some years after Colet's death.³ In these, as in all the others, the head is covered with a cap, or biretta, the neck is quite bare, and a long-sleeved cassock appears under the outer gown or cape. One arm is resting, in an easy posture, across the other, and a small book is held in one hand.⁴ The best example of this is the engraving in Dugdale's "St. Paul's," which also shows the armorial bearings of the dean.⁵

Of portraits more or less imaginary little need be said here.⁶

¹ The entry in his Diary, under July 30th, 1658, records the circumstance:—"We came to Frogmore. For Nowell's picture, £1 1s. 6d. Colet's picture, £1 18s. 0d."—Cheetham Society's Publications, 1847. Worthington died in 1671.

² Knight, as above, p. xvii.

³ But Mr. Scharf thinks that it may have been by Torrigiano.

⁴ In the coloured miniature on the Statute-book referred to above, a pen is introduced, between the fingers of the right hand, in addition to the book. For a portrait of the Founder, as a framer of Statutes, this would be a natural addition.

⁵ As described by Payne Fisher these were: "Sable, on a Chevron argent three annulets of the first, between as many hinds trippant of the second." Sturt's old engraving, and some others, show a chevron engrailed; but this, I am assured by the best authorities, is wrong.

⁶ Among these the highest place must be assigned to the finely conceived pen and ink drawing by Mr. M. C. Gosset, a former scholar of St. Paul's. In this Colet is represented as pacing the cloisters of the old cathedral, and meditating on the foundation of his school. Above, in the clouds, are lightly delineated the most striking scenes in the subsequent history of the school, with which the Founder's day-dream might be supposed to be peopled. The portrait of Colet, kneeling, as a youthful acolyte, at the beginning of the Cambridge MS. Dd. vii., 3, is described in Smith's "Life" (1661), p. 60, and an engraving of it is given at p. 223 of Knight. An engraving by Parr represents Colet, with Sir Thomas More and

As the present cathedral is devoid of all memorial, monumental or otherwise, of one of its greatest deans, it has been more than once suggested that steps should be taken to remedy this defect. A movement for this purpose was started in February, 1872, by Mr. Frederic Wallis, then captain of St. Paul's School,¹ under the sanction of the high master, Dr. Kynaston. In the prospectus issued at the time, the suggestion was made that the memorial should consist of a stained-glass window, representing the Child Jesus, with the inscription "Hear ye Him" above it; or else that it should be a mosaic representing the Miraculous Draught of Fishes in one of the soffits of the dome. As an objection to the latter design it was admitted that it would look like one of a series of general embellishments of the cathedral, rather than a special memorial to a particular dean. Though the proposal was well received at the outset, subscriptions soon languished, a result in some degree owing to the delay on the part of the Cathedral Restoration Committee in deciding on their own plan of internal decoration. By the end of 1874 about £300 had been received or promised,² since which time nothing more has been heard of the undertaking.

It might perhaps be a question whether any memorial to Dean Colet in the cathedral should not rather be left to the cathedral authorities themselves. St. Paul's School had never

Ammonius, listening to Erasmus. From this, I should imagine, was taken the single figure of Colet, in a rare engraving by Fougeron, a copy of which is in the possession of John Watney, Esq., representing him seated at the end of a table, with one arm extended, holding a book. A similar composition is that of the spirited painting by R. Hollingdale, 1873, now (I believe) in the possession of Mr. Seebohm, representing Erasmus reading the first draft of his "Praise of Folly" to Colet, More, and Lily. In the Print-room of the British Museum I examined (October, 1878), sixteen different engravings or etchings of Colet; of which one by Grignion, published in 1795, was worth noticing. It is a copy of that in the "Heroölogia." Bromley, in his "Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits" (1793), p. 14, specifies nine such of Colet, and Granger, in his "Biographical Hist. of England" (1824), i., p. 125, gives particulars of thirteen.

¹ Now Tutor and Dean of Gonville and Caius College.

² "City Press," November 28th, 1874.

anything more than a local connection with the cathedral, and now that it has been finally removed from its neighbourhood, the time would seem to have come when such a memorial, if raised at all, should be raised on a greater scale, and in a form more permanently useful to the school. Some tablet or inscription there certainly should be in the cathedral, to mark the spot, as nearly as possible, where the honoured remains of Dean Colet once lay.¹ Beyond that, though it would be presumptuous in me to recommend what should be done, I might venture to suggest, that, considering what St. Paul's School has now become, with its ancient number of scholars nearly tripled, and certain before long to be more than tripled, the conception of an adequate memorial should expand in proportion. Through the conspicuous ability and devotion of its present high master,² the successes of its scholars at the universities and elsewhere have surpassed the recollections of its palmiest days; and for those educated at such a school it would seem that nothing less than a school chapel, commensurate in magnificence with the new buildings, could reasonably be thought of as a fit memorial to their Founder. Whether it should take this special form is not, of course, for me to say. Those most nearly concerned in it must decide. But I may, at any rate, be permitted to assert that nothing calling for a less effort than this ought to suffice.

¹ As regards a memorial window, the honour which his cathedral has been tardy in according to Dean Colet, has of late been paid him elsewhere. Besides the full-length figure in stained glass, placed a few years ago in one of the windows of the Hall of the Mercers' Company, two others were placed in 1884,—one in the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford, and the other in the Chapel of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In the former, which is the work of Messrs. Burlison and Grylls, Colet is represented as one of seven restorers of learning in England; Lily, More, Linacre, &c., being the remaining six. In the latter, executed by Messrs. Heaton, Butler, and Bayne, Colet is significantly placed in the same window with Tyndale. On his right is John Scotus Erigena, and opposite him are Fisher and Cranmer.

² Though this work is concerned with the past rather than with the present, it would be ungrateful not to add at least a passing acknowledgment of the great debt owed by St. Paul's School to Mr. Walker.

CHAPTER XIV.

WRITINGS NOT PREVIOUSLY NOTICED.

"Letters to Radulphus."—Colet's views of the Mosaic account of the Creation.—"Order of a good Christian Man's Life."—Its Popularity.—Extracts from it.

1. *Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic account of the Creation.*

IT would have been interesting to know at what time, and to whom, these letters were written. But no certainty under that head seems attainable. We have seen before that Colet's thoughts had been turned to the Pentateuch, or the early part of it, when at Oxford ; and that he had tried to induce Erasmus to prepare an exposition of "that ancient Moses."¹ There is also something in the style and manner of the Letters before us, which makes us inclined to refer them to that period of Colet's life ; a certain cheerfulness, almost sprightliness of tone, best suited to his years of freedom from anxiety at the University. It matters the less who this Ralph, or Radulphus, was, that we know it was Colet's practice to address his scriptural commentaries to friends, and to take advantage of any wish or inquiry on their part to communicate the results of his own researches to them.

In the present case it would seem that someone, known to us simply by this name, had begun the study of the Old Testament for himself, and had consulted Colet about the difficulties he met with. The first of these was in Gen. iv. 23, 24, where the speech of Lamech appears to have caused this unknown student the same perplexity that it has caused to numberless commentators since. Colet declares himself surprised that his correspondent should have got so far as the

¹ "Priscum illum Moysen." See above, p. 111.

fourth chapter of Genesis without stumbling, as if all were easy of explanation in the first three.

"Now to me," he says, "the obscurity in those three chapters seems so great, that the whole account contained in them appears to be that *deep*, upon the face of which Moses says that there was *darkness*: a deep in truth past searching out, and a darkness that cannot be dispelled; unless the same God, who dispelled the darkness of that deep when the light arose, bestow upon us some illumination from his own intelligence, and dispel also the dense clouds of this Mosaic account."

It is not hard to understand why Colet should have found little satisfaction in the ordinary commentaries on the beginning of Genesis, and why that marvellous account—full of difficulties as it must ever be—should seem to him involved in obscurity. Supposing him to have turned to the great annotated Bible of his day, that with the *Glossa ordinaria* and the postils of De Lyra, he would have found but little to clear his mental vision. His mind was one to crave a wide, philosophical conception of the Divine working recorded in Genesis. In De Lyra he would find only comments on single words or phrases, often acute, still more often laborious, but helping little to an adequate understanding of the whole. For instance: what was that mysterious "evening" and "morning," which made one day? The comment of De Lyra is ingenious: that the conventional day¹ ends at evening, though that is but the first half of the natural day of twenty-four hours; and in like manner the conventional night, which is the second half of the natural day, ends at morning; and thus the completion of a natural day is indicated, by the completion being expressed of the two parts which make it up. Or again, on the question why no blessing should be pronounced upon the second day's work, in its not being said that "God saw that it was good," several conflicting opinions are adduced: one being that the number two is ill-omened, being the first departure from that unity which is good.² The phrase "in the beginning" is ex-

¹ Lat. *dies artificialis*. I quote from the Strasbourg edition of 1501.

² "Biblia Latina cum glossa," &c., t. i., p. 25.

plained to mean, not that there was an interval of any appreciable duration between it and the detailed creative work which follows ; but that, just as "sound precedes voice," so "in the beginning" meant "in the beginning of time or of the production of the universe."¹ In other words, what is described in the first verse is to what follows in detail, as the sound of speech which first strikes upon the ear to the articulate words which are next perceived. Or, once more : why should the bringing forth of grass, and herb, and fruit-tree be assigned to the third day, whereas the making of cattle and creeping things is delayed till the sixth ; both being equally, in some respects, the garniture of the earth ? The answer of De Lyra is that the word garniture or adornment (*ornatus* ²) is used in different senses. Plants are not the *adornment* of the earth, because they grow in it, and are thus, in a sense, an inseparable part of it. Hence, just as robes, garlands, and the like, which can be removed, are ornaments of the human body ; but not so, in the strict sense of the word, that which grows upon it, as the hair ; so the plants, which are closely connected with the earth by growing from it, are spoken of as created with it on the third day, while the beasts of the earth, being moveable adjuncts, and separable "ornaments," are not called into being till the sixth.

However little the reader may be inclined to value such exposition as this, none can deny that it is the outcome of real thought. It is very different from modern platitudes. Nor is it contended that Colet's exposition is always better. In some respects he is at least equally fanciful. Some things he appears to have found in De Lyra, or, at least, to have taken from the same original source. His very exclamation about the obscurity of the beginning of Genesis is an echo of St. Jerome, there quoted.³ The proposition he contends for so

¹ "Biblia Latina," as before, p. 23.

² *Ib.*, p. 25. The word *ornatus* stands in the Vulgate of Gen. ii. 1, where our version has "host."

³ *Ib.*, p. 23. "Principium genesis est tantis obscuritatibus involutum, ut ante triginta annos apud hebreos non legatur."

strongly, that Moses adapted his language to the limited conceptions of an ignorant people, is distinctly stated in De Lyra. "According to other holy men and doctors," he says, "Moses was speaking to an uninstructed people, who could not take in spiritual ideas, but only gross and bodily ones; and on that account he made no express mention of the creation of angels."¹ What Colet, if I understand him, failed to discover in existing commentaries, and what he endeavoured to supply, was some conception of the creative work of God as a whole, neither derogatory to the majesty of the Almighty, nor beyond the understanding of an untaught multitude.

How far Colet was successful, may well admit of doubt. He more than doubted it himself; professing to be only a fellow-seeker with Radulphus, and advancing his opinions only tentatively. Moreover, as only a portion of the Letters remains—what is left us breaking off in the middle of a quotation from Macrobius—we cannot even judge of his attempt as a whole. Still, the fragment is enough to show us pretty clearly what was his method, and also to disclose the authorities on whom he relied. These latter—Origen, Philo, Mirandola, and some others—are the authors we might expect a student of Plato and Plotinus to be attracted to; and there must be added to them St. Augustine. The three former he cites by name. Augustine he does not indeed expressly mention; but I think there can be little doubt that some of his thoughts were suggested by the eleventh and two following books of the "Confessions."²

To satisfy the first of the two conditions of his thesis, in what way to represent the creative work of God in a manner not derogatory to his majesty, Colet has recourse to the common Aristotelian conception of *matter* and *form*.

¹ "Biblia Latina," as above, p. 23. St. Chrysostom had made a similar remark long before. See his second Homily on Gen. i. ("Op.," ed. Migne, vol. iv., col. 29, § 2).

² See, for evidence, the Introduction to the "Letters to Radulphus," p. xxviii.

"It was the design of Moses to express in brief the general union of form with matter, and the fact of its taking place in a single and undivided *instant* of time : I mean, in eternity, which is earlier and more remote than time. Hence his opening words are : *In the beginning*, that is, in eternity, *God created the heaven* (form) *and the earth* (matter). Matter indeed never existed apart from form. But that a sequence of events might be conveyed, he adds : *And the earth* (matter) *was without form, and void* : that is, without any solid and substantial existence ; *and darkness was upon the face of the deep* : that is, matter was in darkness, and devoid of life and being. Then there follows : *And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.*"¹

The idea of the Spirit of God as the great formative principle, acting upon formless matter, whether in the physical universe, or in the body politic, or in the human soul, was a favourite one with Colet. In his treatise "On Christ's mystical Body the Church," he has much of it :—

"If then," he there writes,² "mankind are to be arranged together in order, and keep their places in the beauty of regularity, there must needs be some power at work among them transcending the nature of man ; a power which unites, stays, and holds together. It must unite their division, stay their drifting nature and rapid propensity to evil, and, by its simple harmony, hold together the discordant minds and wills of men. Now what is this power that compels men thus to assemble and confederate together, but the Spirit that is above them ? . . . This Spirit, as St. John saith, *bloweth where it listeth.*"

To the same effect here also he brings in the operation of the Spirit of God, as giving form and order to the chaotic elements :—

"Mark how admirably he (Moses) proceeds in order, in expressing the summary of creation, and the uniting of form with matter. By *water* he implies the unstable and ever-shifting nature of matter.³ For consistence arises from form ; its opposite from matter. And it was to restrain and set limits to this unsettled state, that God breathed upon the inconstant matter. This is the meaning of the words : *And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.* What else is this

¹ "Letters to Radulphus," p. 5.

² Page 35.

³ Comp. Augustine, "De Genesi ad literam," iv., 14.

Divine breathing, than an expression of being, and goodness, and form, and light?—words which all denote the same thing?”¹

This general union of form with matter Colet regards as being what is implied in the opening words of the chapter; after which “Moses proceeds in due order to deal with particular objects, and set before us the arrangement of the universe in detail.”

“And this he does in such a way, in my opinion, that we may perceive him to have had regard to popular conceptions, and to the uneducated multitude whom he taught. For, in the first place, he keeps on one side things divine, which are beyond the cognizance of popular opinions. He keeps them apart, I say, from the objects of sense; intending to speak, in a cursory and superficial manner, of those things only which are open to the view. His object is, to inform an uninstructed people about the order of the more conspicuous objects before their eyes; that he may teach men what they themselves are, and to what end they were born. By this means he hoped to lead them the more easily, at a later time, to a more civilized life, and to the worship of God; which was the great end Moses had in writing.”²

How *modern*, so to speak, Colet was in this, may be seen by comparing his words with those of one of our recent scientific writers on the subject. “We may safely conclude,” says Pritchard,³ that in the earlier chapters of Genesis the great Father of mankind is teaching His children as children, and only up to the measure of their capacities and their needs at and about the time of the revelation.” Still more strikingly, towards the end of this fragmentary portion, does Colet enunciate the same truth:—

“Even so, when the lofty wisdom of Moses touching God, and things divine, and the creation of the world, has to be communicated to the popular understanding, it smacks throughout of the homely and uncultivated; so that we perceive him to have spoken, not in keeping with his own intelligence, but so as to suit the conceptions of the multitude. Yet, while thus subservient to their conceptions,

¹ “Letters to Radulphus,” p. 5.

² *Ib.*, p. 9.

³ “Modern Science and Natural Religion,” 1874, p. 19.

he is striving to lure them on, by the bait of a high and holy fiction, and draw them on to the service of God."¹

Such is an outline of the way in which, according to Colet's view, Moses was inspired to reveal the creative work of God; a way that should not be derogatory to the majesty of the Almighty, and yet not above the conceptions of his ignorant countrymen. In some of the details Colet's theories are undoubtedly weak; as where by "the first day," or "one day," he would suppose eternity to be meant; and by "second day" eternal time;² but then, instead of continuing on the same principle, and making the "third day" to be finite time, or something similar, he goes off to a quite different mode of explanation. But, as has been said before, he advances these theories only tentatively, in friendly correspondence with his fellow-student. And the great merit, the striking distinction, of his essay remains the same; that in this age he should be speculating in a manner so free, and yet so reverent, on the mysterious language of the Mosaic account.

II. *A ryght fruitfull monicion concernynge the order of a good Christen mannes life.*

The outer history of this little tract is an interesting one. Like many other short pieces, it has had a longer life and a wider circulation than books of more imposing size. Having gone through more than twenty editions, it must have had a perceptible influence on the religious life of the country. And yet, so carelessly was the authorship defined, that at one time the little volume containing it was known as "Myriel's Devotions,"³ and at another it caused the name of "Colet's Daily Devotions" to be given to a book of which it formed but a

¹ "Letters to Radulphus," p. 28.

² Or perpetuity, as distinguished from eternity proper. See the passage from Boethius, "De Consolatione" (1498), p. 89, quoted in the notes at p. 12, *ib.*

³ See Bailey's "Life of Fuller," pp. 200 and 745. Henry Myriel, B.D., who edited the work in 1641, died in 1643. His monument in All Saints Church, Oxford, is described in Wood's "Ancient and Present State," 1773, App., p. 6.

twentieth part. Even well-informed writers like C. H. and Thompson Cooper, were so misled by the mixed nature of the contents of the book bearing Colet's name, as to declare that "its authenticity," or, as they should rather have said, its genuineness, "appears questionable."¹

The full title of the first printed edition known to be extant is given in Appendix D. The description of it as "made by the famous doctour Colet, sumtyme Deane of Paules," which is appropriate to an edition published after the author's death, throws no light on the question whether an earlier one had appeared in his lifetime. The date of this is 1534. As Colet died but fifteen years before, the recollection of his teaching would still be fresh in the minds of many. At this stage of its existence, and for some time afterwards, the little treatise appears to have been issued separately; though it is somewhat significant, considering what treatises were at a later time to be printed along with it, that this copy of 1534 is found bound up with Bishop Fisher's "Commentary on the Penitential Psalms." In 1563, it is still a separate tract of sixteen pages,² not liable to any misunderstanding as to its authorship or contents. But in 1577, if not before, a change was made, which has resulted in the confusion prevailing in many quarters about the subject ever since. In that year there was published by "H. B. for Gabriel Cawood," a little volume containing three treatises:—(1) this of Colet's; (2) "A godly treatise declaring the benefites, fruites, and great commodities of prayer, and also the true use thereof. Written in Latin forty yeares past by an English man of great vertue and learning, and lately translated into English;" (3) "A breefe treatise exhorting sinners to repentance," followed by "Sundry profitable contemplations gathered by the sayde Author."³

¹ "Notes and Queries," 3rd Series, iv., p. 94.

² A copy of this rare edition, printed by John Cawood, is in the Bodleian, numbered "8° L 557 BS." Its title-page differs in spelling only from that of 1534. For information about this copy I am indebted to F. Madan, Esq., the Sub-Librarian.

³ A copy is in the British Museum, numbered "C. 21. a."

The "English man of great vertue and learning" was Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, whose name may have been suppressed, since the daughter of the king who sent him to the block was now on the throne. This, at any rate, was the beginning of that conglomerate form which the book has ever since retained. Traces of the original elements survive, even in the latest edition that I have seen, the twenty-second, of 1722.¹ In this the first piece, occupying pp. 1-15, is Colet's "Order of a Christian Life," somewhat modernized in phrase, but otherwise substantially the same as it appeared in 1534. Bishop Fisher's treatise is represented by four short pages, headed "What Prayer is," after which follow prayers for various occasions, making up by far the largest part of the book.² As a portrait of Dean Colet is prefixed, together with a short memoir of him by Fuller, it is not surprising that he should have gained what, in this instance, is more than his due.

This slight sketch of the external history of Colet's little treatise may raise our estimate of the influence it has been likely to have. With its companion treatises it must have been a manual of home wisdom and "theology of the hearth," in many an English household.³ It is a noticeable fact that, in this unsuspected manner, two such men as Colet and Fisher should have been household guides to their countrymen in private meditation and prayer for more than two centuries.

¹ Its title is: "Daily Devotions, or, the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice With some short directions for a godly life. By John Colet, D.D.," &c. Owing to the ruling of the title-page, the authorship of all is made to seem Colet's, instead of merely the "Short directions for a godly life."

² What the authorship of these prayers may be, I have not had the means of determining. The wording of some of them is striking: "Let me never tune the doleful song of Cain" (p. 95); "cloath me in the wool of thy mercy, that no winter or storm of sin do pinch my silly soul" (p. 89); "I have with the pirate Satan sailed in the ship of iniquity" (p. 166), are a few specimens.

³ One glimpse of this we have in 1622, in the Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, under date September 15th: "I rose at 7. Read Mar. xiii., and wrot some more of my notes for tomorrow . . . and after, I read Dr. Colet's service."—"Cheetham Society's Publications," vol. xviii., p. 122.

And the nature of Colet's treatise, at least, which has been left more in its original form, justifies this long-continued popularity. There is a sententious wisdom in the "Fruitfull Monition" that might have delighted Shakspeare. There is a homely common sense that would attract the simplest husbandman. Its rugged earnestness would even have satisfied a Balfour of Burley. Some passages in it are only expansions of the "Preceptes of Liveing," which formed part of his catechism. There are maxims and rules of conduct reminding us of the book of Proverbs, and making us recollect the praise Erasmus gives their author for his own contributions to proverbial lore. But perhaps more of its thoughts can be traced to the book of Ecclesiasticus than to any other single source. One passage (Ecclus. xxv. 1) is plainly quoted, though not by name: "And remember that three things in especial are pleasant to the Spirit of God; that is to say, concord between brethren, love and charity between neighbours, and a man and his wife well agreeing."¹ Many others are more or less directly referred to.² Here and there are touches that remind us of the student of Dionysius, in the strong love of order; or of the Platonist, in the sentence, "And remember, as a man loveth, so he is; for the lover is in the thing loved more properly than in himself."³

As the whole piece is so short, and is printed in the Appendix, it is hardly worth while to spoil the reader's appetite for it by any extracts. One only shall be given:—

¹ The quotation agrees better with the Vulgate than with our Authorized Version. My friend Mr. James Fowler, of Wakefield, informed me some years ago that over the porch of the old Sharlston Hall, near Wakefield, was an inscription, dated 1574, beginning with these lines:—

"In three things God and man is well pleased.
The good loving of brethren,
The love of neighbours,
Man and wife of one consent."

² For instance: "First prove and then deem" (*i.e.*, sentence), compared with Ecclus. xi. 7; and the maxims about eating, compared with Ecclus. xxxi. 16, 17.

³ One of the esoteric interpretations of the story of Narcissus.

"If thou be religious,¹ remember that the due execution of true religion is not in wearing of the habit, but with a clean mind in very deed to execute the rules and ordinances of religion. For so it is, that to wear the habit, and not to execute the rule and order of religion, is rather to be deemed hypocrisy or apostasy than otherwise. If thou be lay and unmarried, keep thee clean unto the time thou be married. And remember the sore and terrible punishment of Noe's flood, and of the terrible fire and brimstone, and sore punishment of Sodom and Gomor, done to man for misusing of the flesh.² . . . And if thou intend to marry, or being married hast a good wife, thank our Lord therefore, for she is of his sending. . . . And if thou have an evil wife, take patience, and thank God ; for all is for the best, well taken. Howbeit thou art bounden to do and pray for her amendment, lest she go to the devil, from whom she came."

¹ That is, under monastic vows.

² What follows is an allusion to the prevalence of a new and fearful disease, said to have been brought back by the sailors of Columbus from the West Indies. On the tale it told of the immorality of the age, see Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," 1875, ii., p. 232.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Erasmus's Life but an outline.—Details to be filled in.—Colet's character.—Its defects, real or supposed.—The story of the flogging in school.—Abiding influences of his life and work.—Estimate of them from different points of view.

IN what has been said in the course of the previous chapters, the reader may well have found cause to regret that so much has had to be left to conjecture. Colet took no care for the preservation of any personal records of himself. "IOAN. COL." was all the inscription that, according to Erasmus, he designed for his last resting-place. And this was in keeping with his conduct throughout. The work he did could not be hidden, but the worker himself is often out of sight. Once only he expresses a wish that any writings of his should be preserved. "If there are any which contain matters of doctrine," are his words to the Abbot of Winchcombe,¹ "I should not like them to be altogether lost. Not that they are worth preservation; but if left behind they might help to keep alive some recollection of me." Even here it was plainly his teaching that he was solicitous about, not any personal history of the teacher.

The restless curiosity of modern days craves for something more than this. It likes to have a portrait as a frontispiece to every Life, and to read underneath it the words *ad vivum delineavit*. This curiosity, in the case of Dean Colet, can only be partially gratified. We have, indeed, a sketch of him by a master hand, but it is only in outline. Many details we should desire to see filled in, but the materials for them are

¹ Above, p. 93.

not at hand. What, for instance, was the origin of the name ; and whence was the family sprung ? There is reason to think that the name is French,¹ even if the family cannot be shown to have been of French extraction. The earliest of the name I can find recorded is an Agnes Colet, living near Wakefield in 1368.² But that there was a contemporary, if not a collateral, stock of the same name in France, is shown by the account preserved of a Jean Colet, who lived at about the period of his English namesake, and was engaged, somewhat remarkably, in a not dissimilar work. This Jean Colet was vicar-general of the diocese of Troyes, a learned canonist, and annotator of the "Statuta Synodalia" of his diocese ; and, what is more to our purpose, he built and endowed, at his own cost, the church in his native place, Romilly.³ It would be idle to speculate whether some of the traits of character in our own Colet may have owed their origin to an infusion of French blood in his veins.

That his character was a perfect one, Erasmus does not profess to say. In the comparison which he draws between him and the Franciscan of St. Omer, Jehan Vitrier, while he "deems them worthy of equal praise," it is plain that he inclines, though slightly, to the side of Vitrier. "In Colet

¹ That is, if "Colet" be admitted to be an abbreviation of "Nicolet," a common diminutive of Nicholas. With this compare the remark of De Lyra, that "Cholaus, *Choletus*, Cholinus, and Nicolaus is one name."—Donne's "Essays in Divinity," ed. by Jessopp, p. 123. I pass over such guesses as that the name is derived from "acolyte," or from the "collet" of a ring. Ferguson, in the first edition of his "English Surnames" (1858), p. 228, referred it, along with Cole, and others, to the Anglo-Saxon "col," old Norse "kollr," a helmet ; but in his second edition ("Teutonic Name-system," 1864), he left out "Collet" from the list under this head.

² Taylor's "Rectory Manor of Wakefield" (1886), App., p. lxxiv.

³ "Iste Coletus ecclesiam de Rumiliaco ædificavit, ornavit, et in omnibus providit :"—MS. note on leaf iii. of a copy (Brit. Mus., 1230, b. 1) of "Statuta synodalia civitatis et diocesis Trecensis," 1530. On leaf ii. of the same work it is stated that this Colet was "e sylvis Romiliacis oriundus." I owe my first acquaintance with this French Colet to Howard Staunton's "Great Schools of England" (1865), p. 165. Staunton does not specify any authority, but I presume it must have been the work above cited.

were some traits which showed him to be but man. In Vitrier I never saw anything that savoured at all of human weakness." What those traces of human infirmity were, Erasmus has enabled us to see. For one thing, "he was not wholly exempt from the taint of covetousness." Such, at least, is the language of his biographer.¹ Whether to such a literary Bohemian as Erasmus his friend's prudence in the management of property may have only seemed akin to parsimony, the reader must judge. There is certainly no ground for the severe remarks of M. Nisard referred to above.² But there are indications, such as the dispute with an uncle about some property, related by Erasmus,³ of a tendency that way. How far any natural disposition, or the necessity of husbanding his resources well, in order to carry out his great undertaking in St. Paul's School, may have caused this suspicion of a "taint of covetousness" to rest on Colet, it is perhaps impossible to determine. Most people who have property can be brought, with a plausible show of justice, under one or other of the two prongs of "Morton's fork." But thus much, at least, is distinctly told us by Erasmus: that Colet struggled to subdue this, as some other natural faults of disposition; and, as the most practical way of doing so, expended on charitable works the great bulk of his private fortune. "At his father's death he had inherited a large sum of money; and fearing lest, if he hoarded it up, it might breed some distemper of mind in him, he built with it in St. Paul's Churchyard a new school of splendid structure." Such a work as that is at least a partial answer to the charge of being "un homme fort serré."

With more evident justice the fault of hastiness of temper

¹ "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 31.

² Page 216, n.

³ See the "Oxford Reformers," p. 286. It was through reading a chapter in his "Enchiridion," as Colet owned to Erasmus, that he had so schooled his natural inclination, when on the way to a meeting with this relative at Lambeth, as to be ready to accept the kind offices of Warham, who played the mediator between the two. It was probably to the son of this uncle, John Colet, son of William Colet, that the dean left the Wendover property.

is alleged against Colet. More than once we have seen him firing up at something which excited his opposition or disdain. In the debate at Prior Charnock's table, in the discussion about the merits of Aquinas, or at the endless display of relics before St. Thomas's shrine, we may discern a temper which is described as "singularly high and impatient of affront." But if, in this and other respects, Colet had to struggle against natural tendencies,—hardly suspected, like those of Socrates, by all but his nearest friends, he did so struggle, and with success. "Against his high temper," says Erasmus, "he contended, with the help of reason, so as to brook admonition even from a servant."

One imputation which has been sometimes attached to his memory certainly cannot be sustained. The charge of over-severity towards his scholars—a charge most strange to bring against Colet—will not bear investigation. "I knew a divine, and that familiarly," writes Erasmus in one place,¹ "a man of great name, which was never satisfied with cruelty against his scholars, when he himself had masters that were very great beaters. He thought it did much help to cast down the fierceness of their wits, and tame the wantonness of their youth. He never feasted among his flock, but, as comedies be wont to have a merry ending, so, contrary, when they had eaten their meat, one or other was haled out to be beaten with rods. And sometimes he raged against them that had deserved nothing, even because they should be accustomed to stripes. I myself on a time stood next him, when after dinner he called out a boy as he was wont to do,—as I trow, ten year old; and he was but new come from his mother into that company. He told us before, that the child had a very good woman to his mother, and was earnestly committed of her unto him. Anon, to have an occasion to beat him, he began

¹ In his "*Declamatio de pueris ad virtutem ac literas instituendis*," printed in vol. i. of the Leyden edition of his works, coll. 485-516. The translation from it in the text is taken from Richard Sherry's "*Treatise of Schemes and Tropes*," 1550, leaf M. 1. I have modernized the spelling.

to lay to his charge I wot not what wantonness (when the child showed himself to have nothing less), and beckoned to him to whom he committed the chief rule of his college, surnamed of the thing a tormentor, to beat him. He by-and-by cast down the child, and beat him as though he had done sacrilege. The divine said once or twice, 'It is enough! It is enough!' But that tormentor, deaf with ferventness, made no end of his butchery, till the child was almost in a swoon. Anon the divine, turning to us, 'He hath deserved nothing,' quoth he, 'but that he must be made low.' Who ever after that manner hath taught his slave or his ass?"

This is the story which, ever since the first publication of Knight's "Life of Colet," in 1724, it has been the fashion to apply to the founder of St. Paul's School. Now, without subscribing to any of the dainty modern theories of education, or seeking to deny, for one moment, that the scholars of that school may have deserved all they got as richly then as since, I am simply amazed at the credulity shown, when a story like this to anyone's disadvantage is to be believed. The "Declamatio" of Erasmus, in which the above anecdote occurs, was written, or at least published, ten years after Colet's death. It was a rhetorical exercise, composed for the benefit of the young Duke of Cleves, who would know much more about Westphalia than England; and Erasmus was at Freyburg when he wrote it. There was nothing in the circumstances of its production to call English affairs to mind at all. It is a treatise on education, as carried on in different kinds of schools. Those held up for censure are the schools of monasteries, or of *Fratrū collegia*. The school to which a wise parent would send his boy "should either be a public school or none." And yet, though there is thus absolutely nothing to suggest that the scene of the flogging was in England, a long succession of writers, one after the other, take up the groundless notion that it was St. Paul's. That the place is called by Erasmus a *collegium*, while St. Paul's was one of the public schools which he praises; that Lily should be the one to "teach" a boy as no one ever "taught

his slave or his ass ;" that Pace should dedicate to Colet his treatise "De Fructu," in which he ridicules the schoolmasters who flog because they cannot teach,—such being supposed to be the mode of education at St. Paul's ; that Erasmus could have spoken as he elsewhere does of Colet, and yet have this story in reserve against him ; that the same person could have acted the part of the "divine" in the above tragi-comedy, and also penned the gentle words about "little white hands ;" or, once more, that the youthful flock could have been sitting at meat in a building which we are expressly told had no dining-room attached to it ;—such are a few of the difficulties which these retailers of disparaging anecdotes have made so light of. And so let them lie.¹

As Erasmus is not blind to the defects in his friend's character, so neither is he to the overstrained nature of some of his opinions. We have already had occasion to notice this tendency to excess, in quoting passages from Colet's writings on the subject of litigation, of the study of classical authors, and, above all, of marriage. It is in what he says upon this last subject that Colet will appear, at any rate to many minds, in his least favourable aspect. Not merely in his comments on the seventh chapter of I Corinthians, but throughout his writings—in the "De Sacramentis" especially—he speaks of the married state with a severity approaching contempt. It is a concession to human infirmity, and, as such, to be regarded by the true Christian as a lower state, into which he will not relapse, unless he be ready to "play the woman," *mulierizare*.

Something must be allowed to the roughness of the age, and the want of all refinement of tone in the relations with the other sex ;—an age in which even a Sir Thomas More could say that there was but one woman a shrew, and every married man had got her ; or in which the solitary *bon mot* preserved of old Judge More was, that marrying was like dipping one's hand into a bag full of snakes, having amongst

¹ For a detailed examination of the subject, see the "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," Appendix B, where it is also shown that the "Schola Liliانا," the imaginary scene of "much unnecessary severity," was at Louvain.

them one eel. "Now, if a man should put his hand into this bag, he may chance to light on the eel, but it is a hundred to one he shall be stung with a snake." Something of the austerity shown by Colet may also, perhaps, have been due to the gloom which had overshadowed his own family. He was the only survivor of eleven sons and as many daughters. Still, we should have been glad to see a kindlier, more human, view of domestic life taken by one who is recorded to have delighted in little children, and who had for a mother the good Dame Christian.¹

It may perhaps also be said that in this, and in some other subjects, Colet held theoretical opinions, which he lived up to himself, but which he was very tender of imposing upon others. If he spoke thus about marriage, and, as Erasmus says, lived himself in perfect chastity, "he was yet least hard on those, out of all the list of offenders, were they priests or even monks, whose only offence was incontinence," that is, inability to lead a celibate life. In practice, he chose a married man for the first high master of his school, and married men for its governors, alleging that "while there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in these."²

In truth, however visionary, or overstrained, or fanciful Colet may have been in some of his private opinions, he seems always to have had such true charity and tenderness in his dealings with others, as to make him very careful not to throw needless stumbling-blocks in their way. "He had a leaning to some opinions, derived from Dionysius and the other early divines"—so Erasmus tells us—"though not to such a degree as to make him contravene in any points the

¹ "What is really remarkable," says a writer in the "Academy" (April 24th, 1875), "is that Colet's rigour goes far beyond anything that can be ascribed to St. Paul, or, indeed, to any Catholic writer, except perhaps St. Jerome. . . . It seems worth inquiring whether the one unpleasant feature in his character is to be traced to a bit of Platonism held by the wrong end."

² "Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 28. See also the "Dialogus de recta pronuntiatione" (ed. 1643), p. 27.

decisions of the Church." Again, "from numbers of the tenets most generally received in the public schools¹ at the present day he widely dissented, and would at times discuss them among his private friends. When with others, he would keep his opinions to himself." Like Synesius, he would philosophize at home. Not that there was any dissimulation or culpable timidity in this. When the occasion called for it, Colet's language was as intrepid as it was unreserved. But he who was severe with himself would be gentle with others. Along with strong convictions, he had also that consideration for others, which would not allow him to parade them where likely only to give offence.

For us the life and work of Colet have a value which is not likely to diminish. It is not merely that the material results of what he did in the cause of education still remain, and bid fair to grow in importance as the years go on.² It is not that in his writings any stores of knowledge, hitherto locked up and hidden from men's observation, have been discovered. His commentaries may now have little more than an antiquarian interest to the biblical scholar.³ But in the example

¹ That is, at the Universities.

² Besides the new St. Paul's School, now numbering 500 boys, and with a capacity for extension to nearly twice that number, the scheme of the Charity Commissioners provides for the erection, in due time, of a school for 400 girls. Round the new building at West Kensington preparatory schools have grouped themselves, owing their existence, of course, to the settlement of Dean Colet's foundation there. Of these, one alone, Mr. Bewsher's, already numbers more than twice as many scholars as the old St. Paul's School contained. Besides this, it is not generally known that in the district parish of St. Matthew, Stepney, there are national schools built on ground left by Dean Colet, and bearing his name, accommodating (as I was informed by the Vicar, the Rev. J. O. Harris, in 1875) 393 boys, and the same number of girls and of infants. It is probable, therefore, that in a few years' time, something like 3,000 young people, from all classes of society, will be daily receiving their education under the honoured name of Dean Colet.

³ Yet, in one of the most recent commentaries on 1 Corinthians, that by the Rev. T. C. Edwards, Principal of Aberystwith College, 1885, Colet's Lectures on that Epistle are cited in the preface (§ 33). His

he has left us of a noble life, a life of unappeasable striving after the highest, Colet has left us a legacy which will not easily perish. He was one to whom men turned their eyes afar off, for his light was as that of a beacon, steady and clear amid confusion and darkness. More came to him, in the days of his youth and pride of intellect; and the author of "Utopia," who is now on the road to canonization, owned Colet as his spiritual father. Lollards, who found in More an unrelenting judge, came also to hear Colet, and compared him to Gamaliel. Wandering voyagers like Agrippa von Nettesheim were attracted by the same steady light, and were content for a while to moor their barks within sight of its rays. One of the canons of Mainz, a connection of Hutten's and a defender of Reuchlin, could write to Colet to express his longing to follow him on the road to a holier life.¹ Vitrier, the *gemmeus Vitrarius* of Erasmus, could leave his cell at St. Omer, and cross the Channel to visit one whom, though as yet but from description, he had felt to be a kindred spirit.

I would fain believe that this power in Colet of uniting and attaching others to himself, or rather, of drawing them through himself upwards to a higher object, is not yet all exhausted. There have been signs, during the last twenty years, of men turning their eyes to him from many quarters, and looking with renewed interest at the position he held. It may be but a matter of idle speculation, as some would pronounce it, to wish to trace back the great Reformation movement in the English Church to him, and men like him, rather than doctrinally to Luther, and politically to Henry VIII. But even if that be so, an instinctive feeling still remains that in Colet we have a strong connecting link between the old and the new. In his many-sided character there is something in which commentaries on Dionysius are also referred to by the Rev. E. Burbidge, in his "Liturgies and Offices of the Church," 1885, as introductory to the Reformation movement. At pp. 181-82 of Mr. Burbidge's work are some good remarks on the value of the work done by men who, like Colet, passed away before the great movement was fairly carried out.

¹ See the letter of Marquard von Hatstein to Colet, in Seebohm's "Oxford Reformers," p. 168.

all may claim a share. The Roman Catholic must honour one of whom More declared that "none more learned or more holy had lived among them for many ages past."¹ The High Churchman will probably find but little in his extant writings from which he would feel bound to dissent.² The Evangelical Churchman and the Nonconformist have been forward to claim in Colet a representative of themselves.³ Between his Convocation Sermon and the "Apology" of Barclay not a few resemblances can be traced; just as the like resemblances have been traced between him and Eckhart and Tauler.⁴ In America, especially, there seems to have been awakened, not merely a lively interest in Colet, but a real desire to follow him as a religious leader. In an article in the "American Church Quarterly Review,"⁵ the writer gives a translation of one of the two prayers by Dean Colet, appended to his "Catechizon," and adds the wish, "we would it might be used by Christian students now."

If this be so, it is not too much to hope that a place still remains for Colet's name and work in the future. Something

¹ "Coletum nomino, quo uno viro neque doctior neque sanctior apud nos aliquot retro sæculis quisquam fuit."—"Epist. aliquot Erudit.," 1520, leaf M. iii. As regards the theological position taken by Colet, the "Tablet" (June 24, 1876), places it midway between that of Erasmus and of More.

² "Were he living," said an able reviewer in the "Yorkshire Post," June 8th, 1876, "he could be Dean of St. Paul's now; but he could not be Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. In the English Church we have men now his exact counterparts, but in the Romish communion there is no place for such as he, or, if barely tolerated, he would be relegated to some remote oratory, and as much as possible put to silence." I only quote this in support of the statement in the text.

³ See especially an article in the "Christian Observer," Aug., 1873, and the remarks on the "De corpore Christi mystico" in the "British Quarterly," Oct., 1876, p. 574.

⁴ Compare the "Apology" (ed. 1736), pp. 310, 497; and, for Eckhart and Tauler, see Miss Winkworth's translation of the "History," &c., of Tauler, 1857, p. 83.

⁵ Vol. xxi., p. 200. The prayer is printed below, at the end of Appendix B. It may gratify the writer of the article to know that this Latin prayer is in constant use at St. Paul's School.

of his teaching is believed to have passed, through the "Christiani Hominis Institutum" of Erasmus, into the formularies of the English Church.¹ May more of his spirit also pass into that Church, in all its widespread branches. And as the impartial student of English literature and history pens the deliberate verdict upon Colet, "this man seems to me the best and wisest of his age,"² a far wider circle than ever gathered round him at Oxford may in turn draw lessons of wisdom from his teaching, and hear the benediction from his lips: *Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.*

¹ See Blunt's "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," 1866, ii., p. 242, n. The "Institutum" was only a metrical version of Colet's "Catechizon."

² This is the remark of Southey, "Common-Place Book," 2nd series, (1849), p. 332.

APPENDICES.



APPENDIX A.

STATUTES OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL.

STATUTA PAULINÆ SCHOLÆ.¹

Hunc libellum ego Ioannes Colet tradidi manibus magistrj lilij xvij^o die Junij an^o. Xⁱ. mccccxviiij. vt eum in scola scruet et obseruet.

PROLOGUS.

John Colett, the sonne of henry Colett Dean of paules desyring nothing more thanne Educacion and bringing vpp chyldren in good Maners and litterature in the yere of our Lorde a mli fyve hundreth and twelff bylded a Scole in the Estende of paulis Church for cliij to be taught fre in the same, And ordeyned ther a Maister and a Surmaister and a chapelyn with sufficient and perpetuall stipendis euer to endure, And sett patrones and defenders governours and Rulers

¹ The Statutes as they here follow are printed from the original MS. preserved at Mercers' Hall, of which I was allowed to make a transcript in May, 1883, for Mr. Gardiner's "Admission Registers of St. Paul's School." Since then, through the kindness of John Watney, Esq., Clerk of the Mercer's Company, I have had the opportunity of again comparing my transcript with the original; so that the spelling in this copy may be taken as fairly correct. In case of some words, such as "Paulis," "statutis," it is often impossible to decide whether the last syllable should be -is or -es. The manuscript is on paper, size about 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 8, bound in vellum, with an illuminated portrait of Colet on the back. A few various readings (marked M.) are subjoined from another manuscript containing the Statutes, now in the British Museum ("Additional and Egerton," 6274). This bears the following curious memorandum: "This valuable Document was given to me by Mr. Rodd, Bookseller, Great Newport Street, Long-Acre, in whose shop I accidentally discovered it, lying (as waste paper) between the last leaf and cover of a fragment of an old Law Manuscript on Vellum; which, with others of a like description, was on the point of being sent to a neighbouring Goldbeater's, to be used

of that same Scole the most honest and faithfull felowshipp of the mercers of london. And for because nothing can continu long and endure in good ordre with oute lawes and statutes I the saide John haue expressid and shewid my mynde what I wolde shulde be truly and diligently obseruid and kept of the sayde Maister and Surmaister and Chapelyn and of the ¹ mercers governours of the Scole that in this boke may apperere to what intent I founde this Scole.

CAPITULUM PRIMUM DE MAGISTRO PRIMARIO.

In the Gramer Scole foundyd in the Church yarde of paulis at the Estende in the yere of oure lorde M^{li} fyve hundreth and twelff by John Colett deane of the same church in the honor of Chirst Jesu in puericia and of his blessyd Mother Mary In that scole shalbe fiirst an hygh Maister. This high maister in doctrin lernyng and techyng shall direct all the scole. This Maister shalbe chosen by the wardens and assistance of the Mercery A man hoole in body honest and vertuose and lernyd in the (?) good and clene laten litterature and also in greke yf suyche may be gotten a weddid man a single manne or a preste that hath no benefice with cure nor seruyce that may lett his due besynes in the Scole. The Mercers shall assemble together in the scole housse with such aduyse and counsell of wele literatur and lernyd menne as they can get, they shal chose this maister and geve vnto hym his charge saying vnto hym on this avyse ²

Sir we haue chosyn yow to be Maister and techer of this scole to teche the Children of the same not allonly good literature but also good Maners certifying yow that this is no Rome of continuance and perpetuite but vppon yo^r deuty in the scole. And every yere at

for the purposes of his trade.—July 7th 1818.—William Hamper, Deritend House, Birmingham. Feb. 5th 1820.”

As this copy, equally with that at Mercers' Hall, has the inscription *Hunc libellum*, &c., given above, and is, moreover, apparently the first made, containing corrections which are embodied in the Mercers' Hall copy, it seems probable that the latter was a duplicate made for preservation at the Hall, and that the Museum copy was the one actually delivered to the high master at the school. The destruction or dispersion of its library at the Great Fire would readily account for the loss of the MS. till its unexpected discovery by Mr. Rodd. Both, it should be added, are subscribed by the Founder *manu sua propria*, and have thus an equal title to be considered as original authorities.

¹ The words “Maister . . . and of the ” are omitted in M.

² wise, M.

Candel masse whenne the Mercers be assembled in the scole housse ye shall submit yow to our examinacion, and founde doying your dutye according ye shalle continue. other wyse resonable warnyd ye shall content yow to departe ¹ and yow of your partie not warnyd of vs but of your mynde in any season willing to departe ye shall geve vs warnyng xij monythes before withoute we can be shortlyer well provided of a nother:—

Also being Maister ye shall not absent yow ² but vppon licence of the surveyors for the tyme beyng.

Also yf eny controuersy and stryff shalbe betwixt yow and Surmaister or the Chapleyn of the Scole, ye shall stande at the direccion of the surveyors beyng for that yere.

And yf the chosyn Maister will promyse this thenne admitt him and name hym to it and stall hym in his sete in the scole and shew hym his lodging, that is to sey all the sellers byneth and the hall the kychyn and buttery and over that the hoolle story and Chaumbers and in the house rooff the litle midd chaumber and the galary in the soughsid, As touching all the story of Chambers next vnderneath the galaris he shall nothyng meddell withall and they shall geve hym the Implementis of his house by Indenture.

All these longynggis ³ he shall haue fre with oute eny payment and in this lodging he shall dwell and kepe hushold to his power.

Hys wagis shalbe a marke a weke and a leuerey gowne of iiij nobles deluyeryd in cloth.

His absence shalbe but onys in the yere and not aboue xxxⁱⁱ dayes whiche he shall take coniunctim or diuysim.

Yf the Maister be syk of sekenes incurable, or fall in to suche age that he may not conveniently teche, and hathe benne a man that long and laudably hath taught in the scole Thanne let a nother be chosyn And by the discrete charite of the mercery lett ther be assigned to the olde maister a resonable levyng of xⁱⁱ or other Wyse as it shall seme convenient so that the olde maister after his longe labour in noo wyse be left destitute.

Yf the Maister be syk of sekenes curable, yett neuerthelesse I will he shall haue his wagis and in such sekenes yff he may not teche let hym rewarde the vnder maister for his more labour sum what acordyng

Yf the vnder Maister be in litterature and in honest lyff acordyng

¹ departe ye, M. Hence "depart ye," used reflexively, just after.

² youre selffe, M. ³ i.e. belongings. M. has logingis.

thanne the high Maisters Rome vacant let hym be chosyn before a nother.

The hye maister shall haue The Tenement in Stebenhith now in the handis of Cristofer middelton to resorte vnto which Tenement the Mercers shall maynten and repayre.

DE SUBMAGISTRO.¹

Ther shalbe also a Surmaister sum manne vertuouse in leving and well letterid that shall teche vnder the Maister as the hye maister shall appoynt hym, sum single manne or wedded, or a preste that hath noo benifice with cure nor seruice that may lett his due diligence in the Scole.

This surmaister the hye maister shall chose as often as the Rome shalbe voyde A manne hoole in body And whenne the hye maister hath appointed him vpon one, he shall call to the scole the Surveyors of the scole and before them he shall say to the surmaister on this wise

Sir, before these my maisters here the Surveyors of this scole, I shew vnto yow that I haue chosyn you to be vnder maister of this scole and to teche all way fro tyme to tyme as I shall appoint yow and supply my Rome in my absence whenne it shalbe graunted me by my Maisters the Mercers Wardens and Surveyors, And for suche more labor in my absence I shall somwhatt se to yow as my Maisters here shall think best.

Thenne the Surveyors shall exhorte that Surmaister diligently to doo his deuty And shall saye vnto hym on this wyse Your rome is noo perpetuite but acording to your labor and diligence ye shall continue, otherwyse founde not acording and resonably warnyd of vs ye shall departe. Yf it shalbe soo that at any tyme ye will departe of your owne mynde ye shall geve vs a halff a yere warnyng.

Yf eny controuersi be betwixt you and the hye Maister, ye shall stande at oure direction in every thyng.

Yf he will promyse this, Thenne let the mercers aproue the Eleccion of the Surmaister and assigne hym his lodging in the old change.

His wagis shalbe vj^s. viij^d. a weke and a lyvery gowne of iiij nobles delyuered in cloth he shall goo to comyns with the hye maister yf he may conueniently.

He shalbe absent in all the yere not aboue xxx^{ti} dayes, and yet

¹ This title is inserted from M.

thanne for cause resonably and with licence had of the hith maister and also of the surveyors.¹

In sekenesse curable as axis² or suych sekenesse for a tyme he shalbe tolleratid and haue his full wagis.

Yf after his cummyng he shall seke³ in to sekenesse incurable as leproy or french pox or after his long labor in the scole fall in to age impotent Thenne I committ hym to the cherite of the mercers they of the Cofer of the Scole to provid hym a lyving as it may be possible praying theme to be charitable in that behalff.

OF BOTH MAISTRES AT ONYS.

Yf bothe maistres be syk at onys thenne lett the scole sease for that wille.

Yf ther be suych sekenesse in the Citie contagiouse that the scole cannot continue yet neuerthesse both Maisters shall haue theyr wagis being all way redy for to tech.

Neyther of these Maisters shall take offyce of sectorship or proctorship⁴ or any suych other besynesis whiche shall let theyr dylygence and theyr necessary labor in the Scole. yf they doo and warnyd lawfully yf they will not seace frome suych besynes, thanne lett theyme be warnyd to departe.

Lett the hye Maister se the scole to be kept clene by the pore chylde, and be swept euery saterdaye and also the ledys, and fro tyme to tyme to call vpon the mercers for necessary reparations.

¹ In M. this and the preceding paragraph are transposed.

² *i.e.* a *febris accessus*, or fit of ague.

³ In M. "fall seke."

⁴ In M. it is "executorshipp or protectorshipp." From the two offices being thus joined together, it might be supposed that by "proctorship" was here meant the work of an official in an ecclesiastical court. So the widow in Chaucer's "Frere's Tale" inquires:—

"May I not axe a libel, sire sompnour,
And answer there by my procuratour?"

See also Hale's "Precedents and Pleadings" (1847), Introd., p. xxxi. But I think it more probably means the office of collecting subscriptions, as we should now say, for guilds and other charitable institutions. So in the Statutes of the Guild of Jesus, of which Dean Colet was rector, drawn up under his supervision in 1507, it is "ordeigned and agreed that no Proctour or Commissioner be admytted to resceiue and gadre money for the seid ffraternitie, except," &c. See the reference to Dr. Simpson's "Registrum Statutorum," above, p. 136, n.

THE CHAPELYN.

There shalbe also in the Scole a preist that dayly as he can be disposid shall sing masse in the chapell of the Scole¹ and pray for the Children to prosper in good lyff and in good litterature to the honor of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu. At his masse whenne the bell in the scole shall knyll to sacryng thenne all the Children in the scole knelyng in theyr Settes shall with lift vpp handis pray in the tyme of sacryng. After the sacryng whenne the bell knillith ageyn, they shall sitt downe ageyn to theyr lernyng.

This preist sum good honest and vertuose manne shalbe chosyn fro tyme to tyme by the wardens and assistance of the Mercery, he shall also lerne or yf he be lerned helpp to teche in the scole yf it shall seme conuenient to the hye Maister or ellis not.

He shall haue no benefice with cure nor seruice nor no other office nor occupacion but attend allonly vpon the scole he shall teche the children the catechyzon² and Instruction of the articles of the faith and the x. commaundmentis in English.

His wagis shalbe viij^{li}. by the yere and livery gowne of xxvjs. viij^d. delyuered in cloth.

¹ This chapel was at the south end of the old school. Erasmus thus describes the arrangements of the building :—"The school was divided by him (the Founder) into four partitions. The one first entered contains those whom we may call catechumens, none being admitted but such as can already both read and write. The second contains those under the surmaster's teaching ; and the third, those who are instructed by the high master. Each of these partitions is separated from the others by a curtain, drawn to, or drawn aside, at pleasure. Over the high master's chair is a beautifully-wrought figure of the Child Jesus, seated, in the attitude of one teaching ; and all the young flock, as they enter and leave school, salute it with a hymn. Over it is the countenance of God the Father, saying, 'HEAR YE HIM' ; an inscription added at my suggestion. At the far end is a chapel, in which divine service may be held. The whole school has no bays or recesses, so much so that there is neither any dining-room nor dormitory."—"Lives of Vitrier and Colet," p. 28. The first chaplain appointed, according to Mr. Gardiner's "Admission Registers" (p. 8), was "Sir" John Thompson, in 1523. Several entries in the accounts of the Mercers' Company refer to the furniture of this chapel in Queen Mary's reign, and to the information laid against them in the reign of her successor for "concealed chauntry lands" (*Ib.*, pp. 9, 10). After the Great Fire, no part of the structure was rebuilt as a chapel.

² Printed in Appendix B.

His Chaumber and loging shalbe in the newe howsse in the olde chayn¹ or in the maistres loging as shalbe thought best.²

He shall not haue his Rome by wrytyng or seale but at libertie acordyng to his deseruyng. His absence may be onys in the yere yf it be nede as it shall seme best to the Surveyors of the scole for that yere, and thanne with licence askyd and obteyned of the saide surveyors.

In sekenesse he shalbe nothing abridged of his wagis But lett it be sene that he be holle in body whenne he is chosen.

Yff he ffall to vnthriftynesse and misbehauior, after lefull warnyng, lett hym be repellid and a nother chosyn with in viij dayes, or assone after as can be.³

THE CHILDREN.

There shalbe taught in the scole Children of all nacions and countres indifferently to the Noumber of a cliij acordyng to the noumber of the Setys in the scole.⁴

The Maister⁵ shall admit these chyldren as they be offeride fro tyme to tyme, but first se that they canne the cathechyzon, and also that he can rede and wryte competently, elles let hym not be admittid in no wyse.

A Chylde at the ffirst admission onys for ever shall pay iiij^d for wrytynge of his name. This mony of the admissions shall the pore Scoler haue that swepith the scole, and kepith the scole clene.

In euery fforme one principall chylde shalbe plasid in the chere president of that fforme.

The Children shall come vnto scole in the Morning at vij of the Clok boith wynter and somer and tary ther vntill a xi and retourne ageyn at one of the cloke and departe at v.⁶ and thryse in the daye

¹ That is, the Old Change, mentioned before, the narrow street which bounded the school on the east.

² After this is added in M., "free withe out any paymente."

³ The standing of the chantry-priest indicated in this section, in respect of stipend, qualification to teach, possible character, and ease of dismissal, deserves to be carefully considered. Compare what is said above, p. 132.

⁴ On this number, see above, p. 165.

⁵ "The highe Maister," M.

⁶ These hours were observed until a time within living memory. At present they are from half-past nine till one, and from three till five.

prostrate they shall say the prayers withe due tract and pawsyng, as they be conteyned in a table in the scole, that is to say in the mornyng and at none and at evenyng.¹

In the scole in noo tyme in the yere they shall vse talought Candill in noo wyse but allonly wexcandill at the cost of theyre ffrendes.²

Also I will thay bryng no mete nor drink nor botellis nor vse in the scole no brekefastys nor drinkingis in the tyme of lernyng in noo wyse, yf they nede drink let theme³ be provided in sum other place.

I will they vse noo kokfighting nor rydyng aboute of victory nor disputing at sent Bartilmews whiche is but folish babeling and losse of tyme,

I will also they shall haue noo remedies⁴ yff the Maister grauntith eny remedies, he shall forfett xls. tociens quociens Except the kyng or a archebisshopp or a bisshopp presente in his owne persone in the Scole desyre it.

All these Chyldren shall euery Chyldermasse day come to paulis Church and here the Chylde Bisshoppis sermon and after be at the hye masse and eche of them offer a j^d. to the Childe bisshopp and with theme the Maisters and surveyors of the scole.

In Generall processions whenne they be warnyd they shall goo

¹ Two Latin prayers were composed by Colet for the use of his school; at least, they appear in the earliest-known edition of his *Accidence*, 1527; and these are printed below. What others may have been on the "table" (such a "table," I am informed, is still to be seen hung up in the school-room at Winchester), it is impossible to say. The earliest extant edition of the "*Preces*," so far as can be ascertained, is one described by the Rev. W. Hewett as being in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and printed by him, in an abridged form, in his "*Sacra Academica*." Its date is 1656. In its contents it appears to differ but little from one of 1705 now in my possession. The prayers are said by the "*Capellanus*," and responded to by a "*Chorus omnium*." They are arranged to be said four times a day. Editions of 1814 and later years are numerous, but in these the versicles assigned to the "*Chorus*" are taken away. Owing to the change of school-hours since the removal to the new building, the "*Preces*" have been remodelled on the basis of the earliest-known edition, and are used twice a day, at morning and evening. They now contain one of the Founder's two prayers, as well as several by Erasmus; none of the old ones being omitted.

² For this and the following regulations, see above, pp. 173, sqq.

³ In the MS., "thenne."

⁴ See above, p. 172.

tweyn and tweyn to gither soberly and not sing out, but say deuoutly tweyn and tweyn vij psalmes with the latany.

To theyr vryn they shall goo thereby to a place appointed and a pore Childe of the Scole shall se it conveyde a way fro tyme to tyme and haue the avayle of the vryn. ffor other causis if nede be they shal goo to the water syd.

Yff eny chylde after he is receyued and admitted into the scole goo to eny other scole to lerne therafter the maner of that scole, thanne I will that suche chylde for noo mannes suet shalbe hereafter receyved in to our scole but goo where him lest where his ffreendis shall think shalbe better lernyng, And this I will be shewide vnto his ffreendis or other that offer hym at his ffirst presentyng in to the scole.

WHAT SHALBE TAUGHT.

As towchyng in this scole what shalbe taught of the Maisters and lernyd of the scolers it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particuler but in generall to speke and sum what to saye my mynde, I wolde they were taught all way in good¹ litterature both laten and greke, and goode auctors such as haue the veray Romaine eliquence joyned withe wisdomes specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse or in prose, for my entent is by thys scole specially to increse knowlege and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children And for that entent I will the Chyldren lerne ffirst aboue all the Cathechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made or sum other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyl-dren more spedely to laten spech And thanne Institutum Christiani homines² which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke called Copia³ of the same Erasmus And thenne other auctours Christian as lactancius prudentius and proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus and suche other as shalbe taught⁴ conveyent and moste to purpose vnto the true laten spech all barbary all corrupcion all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poyseynd the olde laten spech and the varay Romaine tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was vsid, whiche also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly

¹ "the good," M.

² *Sic, for hominis.*

³ In the margin the title is given more fully as "Copia Verborum."

⁴ "thoughte," M.

doctors lernyd in theyr tymes. I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I vtterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best and instruct the chyldren in greke and Redyng¹ laten in Redyng vnto them such auctours that hathe with wisdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence.

THE MERCERS CHARGE.²

The honorable Compenny of Mercers of london that is to say the Maister and all the Wardens and all the assistance of the feloshipp shall haue alle the Cure and charge rule and governnaunce of the scole and theye shall euery yere chose of theyr company ij honest and substanciall menne callid the Surveyours of the scole which in the name of the hoole feloship shall take all the charge and besynes aboute the scole for that one yere.

They shall ouersee and receyue all the londis of the scole and see theyme repayred fro tyme to tyme by theyr officers. And such officer as they appoint to be Renter or to other besynes of the scole for his more labor in the scole besynes I will he haue xx^s. a yere and a gowne price xiiij^s. iiij^d.

The Surveyours of the scole shall come into the scole vj dayes before Cristenmasse vj dayes before Ester vj dayes before sent Iohn Baptist daye and vj dayes before michelmasse and pay the hye maister and the Surmaister and³ the preste theyr quarter wagis and at the later ende of the yere theyr lyverys in cloth. And onys in the yere they shall geve accompt⁴ to the Maisters Wardens and assistance of the felowschipp.

There accompt shalbe aboute Candilmasse thre dayes afore or thre dayes after candilmasse day. In that day appoynted shalbe assembly and a lytill dyner ordeyned by the Surveyours not excedyng the price of iiij nobles.

In that day they shall call⁵ to a Rekenyng all the Estate of the scole and see the acompt and discharge the olde Surveyour and to the yonger chose an other And in that daye after the accompt they shall geve

¹ Omitted in M.

² The word "Charge" is added apparently in Colet's own hand.

³ The word "and" is inserted from M.

⁴ "a playne Accompte," M.

⁵ The word "call" inserted from M.

To the Maister Warden a noble yf he be present or ellis not,
 To eche of the other Wardens v^s. yf they be present or ellis not
 To the Surveyours eche of theme xl^s. for theyre labours for that
 yere.

ffor their Ryding and visiting of theyr landis to eche of them xl^s.
 yf they Ride.

The Clerk of the Mercery shalle inact all thynggis that day and
 haue for his labour iiij^s. iiij^d.

See that the stuarde bring in his court Rollis or he haue his fle.

See that the Baylliffis Renew theyr rentallis euery v yere.

Let not the londis of the scole but by the space of v yeris.

That is sparyd that day in Rewardis and chargis let it be putt in
 the Tresure of the scole.¹

They shall diuers tymes in the quarter come to the scole and see
 how they doo.

Euery yere at the ffoote of the accompt all ordinary chargis doon,
 the over plus of monye whiche at this day is extemyd ² this I hooly
 geve to the felowshipp of the Mercery to the mayntenynge and sup-
 portinge and repayryng of all that longith to the scole fro tyme to
 tyme.

And albe it my mynde is that they shall haue this Surplesage for
 thentent aboue saide, Yet neuerthelesse I wille the saide Surplesage
 as much as shalbe sparid of it aboue reparacions and Casueltis at
 euery acompt be brought and put in a Cofer of Iren geuyn of me to
 the mercery standing in theyr hall And ther frome yere to yere
 remayne a parte by it self that it may appere Howe the scole by the
 owne self manteyneth it self. And at length ouer and aboue the
 owne lyvelod, yf the saide scole shall grow to eny farther charge to
 the Mercery that than also that may appere to the laude and prayse
 and Merite of the said felowshipp.

LIBERTE TO DECLARE THE STATUTES.

And notwithstanding These statutis and ordinancis before writen
 in whiche I haue declarid my mynde and will yet because in tyme to

¹ After this follows in M., "In that daye of Assembly also the Elder
 Surveyour sessinge to the yonger shalbe chosen an other." The direction
 had been given before.

² That is, computed. *Extimare* is found in this sense, for *æstimare*, in
 ecclesiastical Latin.

cum many thingis may and shall surwyue¹ and grow by many occasions and causis which at the makyng of this boke was not possible to come to mynde In consydering the assurid truyth and circumspect wisdom and faithfull goodnese of the most honest and substantiall felowshipp of the mercery of london to whome I haue committid all the cure of the scole and trustyng in there fidelite and love that they haue to god and man and to the scole,² And also beleuyng verely that they shall al way drede the greate wrath of god Bothe all this that is saide, and all that yet is not saide which hereafter shall come vnto my mynde whyle I lyve to be saide, I leue it hooly to theyr dyscrecion and charite I meane of the Wardens and assistences of the felowshipp with such other counsell as they shall call vnto theme good litterid and lernyd menne They to adde and diminish vnto this boke and to supply in it euery defeaute, And also to declare in it euery obscurite and derkenes as tyme and place and iust occasion shall requyre calling the dredefull god to loke vppon theme in all such besynes. And exorting theme to fere the terrible Jugement of god which seith in derkenes and shall rendre to euery manne acording to his werkes. And finally praying the greate Lorde of mercy for theyr ffaithfull dealing in this mater now and all way to sende vnto theme in this worlde myuch welth and prosperite and after this lyff myuch Joy and glorie.

THE LANDIS OF THE SCOLE.

Ffirst of the olde scole			xx ^s .
Item the iiij shoppis in the holde of Berell	iiij ^{li} .		
Item the Tenementis in brigestrete	viiij ^{li}	vi ^s	viiij ^d .
Item the Tenementis in soperlane	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d .
Item the Tenementis in podynglane	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d .
Item the holdis with oute Algate	vi ^{li}	xviiij ^s .	
Summa	xxxiiij ^{li}	xj ^s	iiij ^d .
Item the maners and landes and Tenementis in the countie of buk	liij ^{li}	xj ^s	ix ^d .
Item the Manor of vach in Barton withe the Membres	viiij ^{li}	iiij ^s	vj ^d ob.
Item the Manor of Berwyk	viiij ^{li} .		

¹ It is difficult to say whether the word is "surwyue" (survive) or "surwyne" (supervene?).

² In M. the words "trusting . . . scole" are in the margin only, being an addition in Colet's own hand.

Item of landis in colchester. . . .	iiij ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d .
Summa	lxxij ^{li}	ix ^s	vij ^d ob.
Item A Tenement and certeyn closs late in the holde of William Rote by the yere		l ^s .	
Item A Tenement and a crosse late in the holde of Clyston		xxvj ^s	viiij ^d .
Item of a close late in the holde of Maister Wellis		xxiiij ^s	iiij ^d .
Item a nother Lytyll crosse in the holde of the same Maister Wellis		v ^s .	
Item a Berne late in the holde of the same manne		vj ^s	viiij ^d .
Item of Edmounde Rote for iiij acres of lande of the bakesid of Whiteherte- strete		v ^s .	
Item of Cristofer hall for certeyn londe late John at ffenix ¹ by the yere .	vij ^{li} .		
Item of the same hall for viij acres of londe in london ffelde		xvj ^s .	
Item of Maister Cristofer Middelton for a certeyn Tenement ther ²		xx ^s .	
Item of iiij lityll Tenementis ther .		xiiij ^s	iiij ^d .
Item ix acres pasture next the place ther		xxx ^s .	
Item of a place ³ with gardens ther .		xl ^s .	
Summa	—xviiij ^{li} —	xvj ^s .	— ⁴
	xvij ^{li}	xj ^s .	
paide vnto the Bisshopp of london yerly at iiij termes of londis and Tene- mentis before		liij ^s	iiij ^d .
Summa clara	xvi ^{li}	iiij ^s	viiij ^d .
Summa totalis	cxxij ^{li}	iiij ^s	vij ^d ob.

¹ This I presume to be the name of the former tenant, known by his sign, a Phoenix.

² After this, in M. there follows "assigned to the scole maister." The reference is to the "tenement in Stebenhith," or Stepney, before-mentioned. An engraving of it will be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for Sept., 1818, p. 233.

³ This was the "Great Place," where Sir Henry Colet had lived.

⁴ This amount is cancelled; but, as it is correct, it is not obvious why the alteration was made.

Whereof deductid for the shoppis in the
holdyng of Berell for a certen tyme¹.

Remayneth clere

iiij^{li}.
cxviiij^{li} iiij^s vij^d ob.

CHARGIS ORDINARY OUTE

PAIDE YERELY

To the hye Maister		lij marc.
the vnder Maister		xxvj marc.
The prest	viiij ^{li} .	
Theyr lyvery	iiij ^{li} .	
The supervisours	iiij ^{li} .	
ffor the visitacion of landis	iiij ^{li} .	
the Clerke		iiij ^s iiij ^d .
the maister and wardens		xx ^s viij ^d .
to stuardis		xl ^s .
to bayliffes		xl ^s .
the costys of the dyner		xxvj ^s viij ^d .
the officer of the Mercery Renter of the Scole		xx ^s .
for his gowne		xiiij ^s iiij ^d .
Summa —iiij ^{xx} —xix ^{li} —viiij ^s —iiij ^d ¹ —	lxxx ^{li}	v ^s probat.
So Restis to the Reparacions suytis Casueltis and all other chargis extra ordinary	xxxviiij ^{li}	xvi ^s iiij ^d ob.

Joannes Colett² fundator

Noue scole manu mea

propria.

¹ In this case the correction is rightly made, and the total of £80 5s. agrees with that given in M. The item of 20s. 8d. for "The Maister and Wardens" requires to be altered to 21s. 8d., being a noble, and three sums of 5s. each. In the printed copy of the Statutes given in the Report of Lord Clarendon's Commission, these accounts are balanced and shown to be correct.

² This word is written with a twirl at the end, as if an abbreviation for "Colettus."

APPENDIX B.

Colet's "Cathechyzon," with the Articles of admission to St. Paul's School, and other extracts from his Accidence.

THE mayster shal reherse these artycles to them that offer theyr chyl dren, on this wyse here folowyng.

If your chylde can rede & wryte latyn & englisshe sufficiently, soo that he be able to rede & wryte his owne lessons, than he shal be admytted into the schole for a scholer.

If your childe after reasonable season proued be founde here vn- apte & vnable to lernynge, than ye warned therof shal take hym awaye, that he occupye not here rowme in vayne.

If he be apte to lerne, he ² shal be content that he contynue here tyl he haue some competent literature.

If he be absent vi dayes & in that mean season ye shewe not cause reasonable (reasonable cause is al onely sekenes) than his rowme to be voyde, without he be admytted agayne & paye iiij.d.

Also after cause shewed yf he contynue so absent tyl the weke of

¹ The Catechism, or religious rudiments, here given, with the Articles of admission to St. Paul's School, and other extracts, are taken from a copy of the earliest edition known to be in existence of the "Coleti æditio," or Accidence drawn up by Colet himself for the use of his scholars. This copy, which formerly belonged to Dr. White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, is now in the Cathedral Library there. Through the kindness of the Rev. W. D. Sweeting, then Head Master of the Cathedral School, I had the opportunity of transcribing what is here printed, April 29th, 1878. Its title is, "Joannis Coleti theologi, olim decani diui Pauli, æditio una cum quibusdam G. Lili Grammatices rudimentis . . . Anno MDXXVII." There is no printer's name, or place; but at the foot of the title-page is the monogram G ⁴ H, and at the end the royal arms.

The various readings subjoined are from the edition printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1534, a copy of which is in the British Museum. These are marked with a "W."

² "ye," W.

admyssyon in the nexte quarter, & than ye shewe not the contynuaunce of his sekenes, than his rowme to be voyde and he none of the schole, tyl he be admytted agayne & paie iii.d. for wrytinge of his name.

Also yf he fall thryse in to absence, he shall be admytted no more.

Your chylde shal on childermasse daie wayte upon the bysshop at Poules and offer there.

Also ye shal fynde hym waxe in wynter.

Also ye shal fynde hym convenient bokes to his lernynge.

If the offerer be content with these artycles, than let his chylde be admytted.

Gala. quinto.¹

Valet in Christo Iesu fides quæ per dilectionem operatur.

FIDES.

The Artycles of the Fayth.

i. I byleue in god the fader almyhti creatour of heuen and of erth.

ii. And in his sone Jesu Chryst our lorde

iii. Whiche was conceyued by the holy goost & borne of the clene virgyn Marie.

iiii. Whiche suffred onder Pontio pylato, & was crucifyed & dyed & was buryed, and descended to hell.

v. Whiche rose againe the thyrde daye from deth to lyfe

vi. Whiche ascended in to heuen, & sytteth at the ryght hande of the fader almyghty.

vii. Whiche shall come agayne & iudge bothe quicke and deed.

viii. And I byleue in the holi goost the holy spirite of god.

ix. I byleue the holy Chyrche of Christ, whiche is the clene congregacyon of faytfull people in grace, & communyon of sayntes onely in Chryst Iesu.

x. I byleue that in the chirche of Chryst is remyssion of synnes bothe by baptym and by penaunce.

xi. I byleue after this lyfe resurreccyon of our deed bodyes.

xii. I byleue at the last euerlastinge lyfe of bodi & soule.

Amen.

¹ The reference is to Gal. v. 6.

THE SEUEN SACRAMENTES.

I bileue also that by the seuen sacramentes of the chirche cometh grete grace to all that taketh ¹ them accordyngly.

- i. By gracyous ordre is gyuen power to mynyster in god.
- ii. By gracyous matrymony we be borne into this worlde to god.
- iii. By gracyous baptym we be borne agayn the sones of god.
- iiii. By gracyous confymacyon we be stablysshed in the grace of god.
- v. By gracyous Eucharistye, where is the very presence of the persone of Chryst vnder forme of breed, we be nourysshed spirytually in god.
- vi. By gracyous penaunce we ryse agayne from synne to grace in god.
- vii.² By gracyous Enealynge and the last anoyntyng we be in our deth commended to god

CHARYTE.

The loue of God.

In this trewe byleue I shall fyrst loue god the fader almyhty that made me, & our lord Jesu Chryst that redemed me, and the holy ghost that alway inspyreth me : this blessed holy trynite I shall alway loue & honour & serue with all my herte, mynde, & strength, & fere god alonely & put my trust in hym alonely.

The loue of thyne owne selfe.

Seconde I shall loue myselfe to godwarde and shall abstayne from all synne as moche as I may, specially from the synnes deedly.

I shall not be prowde, nor enuyous, nor wrothfull. I shall not be glottenous, nor lecherous, nor slouthfull.

I shall not be couetous desyrynge superfluyte of worldly thynges. And euyl company I shall eschewe and flee as moche as I may.

I shall gyne ³ me to grace & vertue and connyng in god.

¹ In W. it is "all them that take."

² The numerals are prefixed in correct order from W. In the edition of 1527 they are each set one paragraph too high. It will be observed that Colet retains the same order of the Sacraments here as in his treatise on the subject ("De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ"). See the Introduction to that treatise, p. 23.

³ A misprint for "gyue" (give), as in W.

I shall praye often, specyally on the holy dayes.
 I shall lyue alwaye temperatly & sober of my mouth.
 I shall fast the dayes commaundet in Chrystes Chirche.
 I shall kepe my mynde from euyl & foule thoughtes.
 I shall kepe my mouth from sweryng, lyeng & foule spekyng.
 I shall kepe my handes from stelynge and pykyng.¹
 Thynges taken awaye I shall restore agayne.
 Thynges founde I shall rendre agayne.

The loue of thy neyghbour.

Thyrde I shall loue my neyghbour, that is, euery man to godwarde, as myn owne selfe, and shall helpe hym in all his necessarytees spirytually and godly,² as I wolde be helped myn owne selfe: specyalli my fader and my moder that brought me into this worlde.

The mayster that techeth me I shall honour and obey.
 My felowes that lerne with me I shall loue.

PENAUNCE.

If I fall to synne I shal anon ryse agayne by penaunce and pure confessyon.

HOWSELINGE.

As often as I shal receyue my lord in sacrament, I shall with al study dispose me to pure clenness & deuocyon.

IN SEKENES.

Whan I shal dye I shal call for the sacramentes & ryghtes of Chrystes chirche by tymes, and be confessed & receyue my lorde & redemer Jesu chryst.

IN DETH.

And in peryl of deth I shal gladly call to be enealed, and so armed in god I shal departe to hym in truste of his mercy in our lorde Chryst Jesu.

*Hoc fac et uiues.*³

¹ It will be noticed how closely the language of the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer follows this.

² A misprint for "bodyly," as in W.

³ St. Luke x. 28.

PRECEPTS OF LYUYNGE.

Fere god.	Byleue & trust in chryst Jesu.
Loue god.	Worship hym and his moder
Desyre to be with hym.	Mary.
Serue hym daili with some prayer.	Call often for grace of the holy
Brydel the affeccyons of thy	ghoost.
mynde.	Loue peace and equyte.
Subdue thy sensuall appetytes.	Thynke of deth.
Thrust downe pryde.	Drede the iudgement of god.
Refrayne thy wrathe.	Trust in goddes mercy.
Forgete trespasses.	Be alway wel occupied.
Forgyue gladly.	Lose no tyme
Chastyse thy body.	Stande in grace.
Be sobre of thi mouth.	Fallyng downe dispaire not.
Be sobre of meet & drynke.	Euer taye a fresshe ¹ newe good
Be sober in talkinge.	purpose.
Flee sweerynge.	Perseuer constauntly.
Flee foule language.	Vse oftyme confessyon.
Loue clennes & castite.	Wasshe clene.
Vse honest company.	Sorowe for thi synnes.
Beware of ryot.	Aske often mercy.
Dyspende mesurably.	Be no slogarde.
Flee dyshoneste.	Awake quykly.
Be true in worde & dede.	Enryche thee with vertue.
Reuerence thyne elders.	Lerne dylygently.
Obeie thy superyours.	Teche that thou hast lerned
Be felowe to thyn equales.	louyngly.
Be benygne and louyng to thyne	
inferyours.	
Loue all men in god. ²	

By this waye thou shalte come
to grace and to glory. Amen.

(After this there follow in order the "Simbolum Apostolorum," "Oratio Dominica," and "Salutatio Angelica," in Latin; and then these two Prayers, presumably composed by Dean Colet himself:—)

¹ That is, "take afresh." We still use the past participle "taen."

² These last sentences are arranged in the order of the edition of 1534. In that of 1527 the lines have got deranged in printing.

Sancta Maria, uirgo, & mater Iesu, age cum filio tuo, ut hæc schola quotidie proficiat in ipso, utque omnes pueri in eadem discant ipsum, & erudiantur in ipso, tandem ut perfecti filii Dei fiant per ipsum. Et tu quoque, Iesu benignissime, age cum patre tuo & patre nostro, ut gratia sui spiritus nos suos filiolos faciat, sic te, Iesu, discere & imitari in hoc sæculo ut una tecum feliciter regnemus in futuro. Amen.

Oratiuncula ad puerum IESVM

Scholæ præsidem.

Mi domine IESV suauiissime, qui puer adhuc anno ætatis tuæ duodecimo in Hierosolymitano templo inter doctores illos sic disputasti ut stupefacti uniuersi tuam super excellentem sapientiam admirarentur: te quæso ut in hac tua schola, cui præes et patrocinaris, eam quotidie discam & literaturam & sapientiam, qua possim in primis te, IESV, qui es ipsa uera sapientia, cognoscere, deinde cognitum eundem te colere & imitari, atque in hac breui uita sic ambulare in uia doctrinæ tuæ, sequax uestigiorum tuorum, ut quo peruenisti ipse ad aliquam eius gloriæ partem, decedens ex hac luce, possim ego quoque tua gratia feliciter peruenire. Amen.¹

A lytell proheme to the boke.²

Al be it mani haue writen & haue made certayne introduccyons in to latyn speche, called Donates and Accidens, in latyn tongue and in englysche, in suche plenty that it sholde seme to suffyse, Yet neuerthelesse for the loue and the zeale that I haue vnto the new schole of Poules, and to the children of the same, somewhat I haue also compyled of the mater, & of the viii. partes of grammer haue made this lytel boke, not thynkyng that I coude say ony thyng beter than hath be sayd before, but I toke this besynes, hauynge grete pleasure to shewe the testymony of my good mynde vnto the schole. In whiche lytel warke yf ony newe thynges be of me, it is alonely that I haue put tese³ partes in a more clere ordre, and haue made them a lytel more easy to yonge wyttes than (methynketh) they were before. Judgyng that no thynghe may be to softe nor to famylyer for lytel chyl dren, specyally lernynge a tongue vnto them al straunge. In

¹ This prayer is now included in the "Preces" used at St. Paul's School.

² This begins on leaf A v. *verso* of the "Coleti æditio" of 1527.

³ A misprint for "these," as it is in the 1534 edition.

whiche lytel boke I haue lefte many thynges out of purpose, consydering the tendernes and small capacitye of lytel myndes : and that I haue spoken, also, I haue affirmed it none otherwyse but as it happeth moost comynly in latyn tongue. For many be the exceptyons, & harde it is ony thyng generally to assure in a speche soo varyous. I praye god all may be to his honour, & to the erudicyon and profyt of chyl dren my countre men, Londoners specyally, whome dygestynge this lytel werke I had alwaye before myn eyen, consyderynge more what was for them than to shewe ony grete connyng, wylling to speke the thynges often before spoken in suche maner as gladli yonge begynners and tender wyttes myght take & conceyue. Wherefore I praye you, al lytel babys, al lytel chyl dren, lerne gladly this lytel treatyse, and commende it dyligently vnto your memoryes. Trustynge of this begynnyng that ye shal procede and growe to parfyt lyterature, and come at the last to be gret clarkes. And lyfte vp your lytel whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to god. To whom be al honour and imperyal maieste and glory. Amen.

PROLOGI FINIS.

(Then follows the strictly grammatical part of Colet's Accidence ; the author ending thus, on leaves D vi. verso and vii. :—)

These be the viii. partes of spekyng, whiche for an introduccyon of chyl dren in to latyn speche I haue thus compiled, digested, and declared : prayenge god that it may profyte to the more spedy lernyng of yonge begynners, fynally to his honour, to whome be al prayse & glory without ende. Amen.

Of these viii. partes of speche in ordre well construed be made reasons and sentences and longe oracyons. But how, and in wat maner, and with what construccyon of wordes, & all the varietees and diuersitees and chaunges in latyn speche (whiche be innumerable) yf ony man wyl know, and by that knowlege attayne to vnderstande latyn bokes, and to speke and to wryte the clene latyn, let hym aboue al besyly lerne & rede good latyn authours of chosen poetes and oratours, and note wysely how they wrote and spake, and studi alway to folowe them : desyryng none other rules but theyr examples. For in the begynnyng men spake not latyn bycause suche rules were made, but contrariwyse bycause men spake suche latyn vpon that folowed the rules were made.¹ That is to saye, latyn speche was

¹ In the edition of 1535 this is corrected to "and were made."

before the rules, not the rules before the latyn speche.¹ Wherefore, welbeloued maysters & techers of grammer, after the partes of speche sufficiently knowen in your scholes, rede and expounde playnly vnto your scholers good authours, and shewe to them euery worde, and in euery sentence what they shal note and obserue, warnynge them besyly to folowe and to do lyke bothe in wrytynge and in spekyng, & be to them your owne selfe also spekyng with them the pure latyn veray present,² and leue the rules. For redyng of good bokes, diligent informacyon of taught maysters, studyous aduertence & takynge hede of lerners, heryng eloquent men speke, and fynallys easy³ imitacyon with tongue and penne, more auayleth shortly to gete the true eloquent speche than al the tradicions, rules, and preceptes of maysters.

Explicit Coleti æditio.

¹ The wisdom of this remark was praised by a sound Latin scholar, the late George Long, in the Preface to his edition of Sallust.

² That is, "be very present to them." Compare Ps. xlv. 1, "a very present help in trouble."

³ In the edition of 1534 corrected to "finally besy."

APPENDIX C.

*The Sermon of Doctor Colete,
made to the Conuocation at Paulis.¹*

YE are come to gether to daye, fathers and ryghte wyse men, to entre counsell; in the whiche, what ye wyll do, and what matters ye wyll handell, yet we vnderstande nat. But we wysse that ones, remembrynge your name and profession, ye wold mynde the reformation of the churches matter. For hit was neuer more nede, and the state of the churche dyd neuer desyre more your endeuours. For the spouse of Christe, the churche, whom ye wolde shulde be *without spotte or wrynke*, is made foule and euyl fauord, as saith Esaïas: *The faithfull cite is made an harlotte*. And as saythe Hieremias: *She hath done lechery with many louers, wherby she hath conceiued many sedes of wyckednes, and dayly bryngeth forthe very foule frute*.

Wherefore I came hyther to day, fathers, to warne you that in this your counsell, with all your mynde, ye thynke vpon the reformation of the churche. But for sothe I came nat wyllingly, for I knewe myne unworthynes. I sawe besyde howe harde it was to please the precise iugement of so many men. For I iuged it vtterly vnworthy and vnmete, ye and almost to malapert, that I, a servant, shulde counsaile my lordes; that I, a sonne, shulde teache you, my fathers.

¹ This is printed from a copy preserved in the archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, numbered "30. 9. 22," of which I was allowed to make a transcript (Jan. 3rd, 1877), through the kindness of the librarian, Mr. Kershaw. The book, which is of great rarity, is described in Maitland's "Early Printed Books," p. 239. It is not dated, but is assigned to the year 1511; which, with other circumstances, makes it probable that it was written (as well as the Latin original) by Colet himself. The size is 5½ by 3½ inches, in eights, and the sermon ends on leaf C vi. At the close is the imprint: "Thomas Berthelet regius impressor excudebat. Cum priuilegio."

Truely it had bene meter for some one of the fathers; that is to say, you prelates might haue done it with more graue auctorite and greater wysedome. But the commaundement was to be obeyed of the most reuerent father and lorde the archebysshoppe, presydent of this councell, whiche layde vpon me this bourden, truly to heuy for me. We rede that the prophette Samuel sayde: *Obedience is better than sacrifice*. Wherefore, fathers and ryghte worthy men, I praye you and beseche you that this day ye wolde susteyne my weakenes with your goodnes and pacience; furthermore, to helpe me at the begynnyng with your good prayers.

And before all thyng let vs praye vnto God the Father all myghty; fyrste remembrynge our most holy father the pope, and all spirituall pastours, with all christen people; farthermore the moost reuerent father and lorde the archebishophe, president of this councell, and al bishops, and al the clergie, and all the people of Englande; remembrynge fynally this your congregation, desirynge God to inspire your myndes so accordyngly to agre, to suche profyte and frute of the church, that ye seme nat, after the councell synysshed, to haue ben gethered to gether in vayne and without cause. Let vs all saye *Pater noster*.

To exhorte you, reuerent fathers, to the endeuour of reformation of the churches estate, (bicause that nothyng hath so disfigured the face of the church as hath the facion of seculer and worldly lyuynge in clerkes and prestes) I knowe nat where more conueniently to take begynnyng of my tale than of the apostle Paule, in whose temple ye are gethered to gether. For he, writynge vnto the Romanes, and vnder their name vnto you, saith: *Be you nat conformed to this worlde, but be you reformed in the newnes of your vnderstandynge, that ye may proue what is the good wyll of God, well pleasing and perfecte*. This dyd the apostell wryte to all christen men, but most chiefly vnto prestes and bysshops. Prestes and bysshops are the light of the worlde. For vnto them sayde our Sauour: *you are the lyghte of the worlde*. And he sayde also: *If the lyghte that is in the be darkenes, howe darke shall the darkenes be?* That is to say, if prestes and bysshops, that shulde be as lyghtes, ronne in the darke way of the worlde, howe darke than shall the secular people be? Wherefore Saynt Paule sayde chiefly vnto prestes and byshops: *Be you nat conformable to this worlde, but be ye reformed*.

In the whiche wordes the apostle dothe two thynges. Fyrst, he doth forbyd that we be nat conformable to the worlde and be made

carnall. Farthermore he dothe commaunde that we be reformed in the spyryte of God, wherby we are spirituall.

I entendynge to folowe this ordre, I wyll speke first of confirmation, than after of reformation.

Be you nat (sayth he) conformable to this worlde.

The apostle calleth the *worlde* the wayes and maner of secular lyuing, the whiche chiefly doth reste in foure euilles of this worlde: that is to say, in diuillisse pride, in carnall concupiscence, in worldly couetousnes, in secular busines. These are in the worlde, as saynt John the apostle witnesseth in his pistell canonicall. For he saythe: *All thyng that is in the worlde* is either the *concupiscence of the flesshe*, or the *concupiscence of the cies*, or *pryde of lyfe*. The same are now and reygne in the churche, and in men of the churche; that we may seme truely to say, all thyng that is in the churche is either concupiscence of flesh, or eies, or pryde of lyfe.

And fyrste for to speake of pride of lyfe: howe moche gredynes and appetite of honour and dignitie is now a dayes in men of the churche? Howe ronne they, ye almost out of brethe, from one benefice to an other; from the lesse to the more, from the lower to the hygher? Who seeth nat this? Who seynge this sorowethe nat? More ouer these that are in the same dignities, the moost parte of them doth go with so stately a countenance and with so hygh lokes, that they seme nat to be put in the humble bysshoprike of Christe, but rather in the high lordship and power of the worlde, nat knowing nor aduertisinge what Christe the mayster of all mekenes sayd vnto his disciples, whom he called to be bysshoppes and prestes: *The princis of people (sayth he) haue lordshyp of them, and those that be in auctorite haue power; but do ye nat so: but he that is greater amonge you, let him be minister; he that is highest in dignitie, be he the seruant of all men. The sonne of man came nat to be minystred vnto but to ministre.* By whiche wordes our Sauour doth playnly teache that the maistry in the churche is none other thyng than a ministration, and the hygh dignitie in a man of the churche to be none other thing than a meke seruice.

The seconde secular euyl is carnall concupiscence. Hath nat this vice so growen and waxen in the churche as a fludde of their luste, so that there is nothyng loked fore more diligently in this moost besy tyme of the most parte of prestes than that that dothe delite and please the senses? They gyue them selfe to feastes and bankettyng; they spende them selfe in vaine bablyng; they gyue them selfe to sportes and playes; they applye them selfe to huntynge

and haukyng; they drowne them selfe in the delytes of this worlde. Procurers and fynders of lustes they set by. Against the whiche kynde of men Judas the apostle crieth out in his pistel, sayeng: *Wo vnto them whiche haue gone the way of Cain. They are foule and bestly, festing in their meates, with out feare fedyng them selfe; fluddes of the wylde see, fomyng out their confusions; vnto whom the storme of darknes is reserued for euerlastyng.*

✓ Couetousnes is the thyrde secular euyl, the whiche saynt John the apostell calleth concupiscence of the eies. Saynt Paul calleth hit idolatry. This abominable pestilence hath so entred in the minde almost of all pristes, and so hath blynded the eies of the minde, that we are blynde to all thynges but onely vnto those whiche seme to bryng vnto vs some gaynes. For what other thinge seke we nowe a dayes in the churche than fatte benefices and hygh promotions? Ye, and in the same promotions, of what other thyng do we passe vpon than of our tithes and rentes? that we care nat howe many, howe chargeful, how great benefices we take, so that they be of greatte valure. O couetousnes! saint Paule iustly called the the roote of all euyl. Of the cometh this heaping of benefices vpon benefices. Of the, so great pensions assigned of many benefices resygned. Of the, all the suyng for tithes, for offryng, for mortuaries, for delapidations, by the right and title of the churche. For the whiche thing we stryue no lesse than for our owne life. O couetousnes! of the cometh these chargefull visitations of bysshops. Of the cometh the corruptnes of courtes, and these daily newe inuentions where with the sely people are so sore vexed. Of the cometh the besyte and wantonnes of officials. O couetousnes! mother of all iniquitie, of the cometh this feruent study of ordinaries to dilate their iurisdictions. Of the cometh this woode and rage contention in ordinaries; of the, insinuation of testaments; of the cometh the vndewe sequestration of frutes; of the cometh the superstitious obseruyng of al those lawes that sounde to any lucre, settinge a syde and dispisyng those that concerne the amendment of maners. What shuld I reherse the rest? To be shorte, and to conclude at one worde: all corruptnes, all the decaye of the churche, all the offences of the worlde, come of the couetousnes of prestes; according to that of Saynt Paule, that here I repete agayne and beate in to your eares: *couetousnes is the roote of all euyl.*

✓ The fourthe secular euyl that spotteth and maketh yll fauored the face of the churche, is the continuall secular occupation, wherein prestes and bysshops nowe a dayes doth busy them selfe, the seruantes

rather of men than of God ; the warriours rather of this worlde than of Christe. For the apostle Paule writeth vnto Timothe : *No man, being goddes souldiour, turmoyle hym selfe with seculare busynes.* The warrynge of them is nat carnall but spirituall. For our warrynge is to pray, to rede and study scriptures, to preache the worde of God, to minstre the sacramentes of helth, to do sacrifice for the people, and to offre hostis for their sinnes. For we are mediatoours and meanes vnto God for men. The whiche saynt Paule witnessethe, writynge to the Hebrewes : *Euery bysshoppe (sayth he) taken of men, is ordeyned for men in those thynges that be vnto God, that he may offre gyftes and sacrifices for synnes.* Wherefore those apostels, that were the first pristes and byshops dydde so moche abhorre from all maner of medlyng of secular thinges, that they wolde nat minystre the meate that was necessarye to poore people, al though that were a great worke of vertue ; but they sayd : *it is nat mete that we shulde leaue the worde of God and serue tables ; we wyll be continually in prayer, and preachynge the worde of God.* And saynt Paule crieth vnto the Corinthians : If you haue any secular besynes, ordeyne them to be iuges that be mooste in contempt in the churche. Without dout, of this secularitie, and that clerkes and prestes, leauyng all spiritualnes, do turmoyle them selfe with erthly occupations, many euils do folowe.

Fyrst, the dignitie of pristhode is dyshonoured ; the whiche is greater than other the kynges or emperours : it is egall with the dignite of angels. But the brightnes of this great dignitie is sore shadowed, whan prestes are occupied in erthly thinges, whose conuersation ought to be in heuen.

Secondarily, pristhode is dispised, whan there is no difference betwixt suche pristis and lay people, but, accordynge to the prophecy of Ozee : *as the people be, so are the pristis.*

Thyrdly, the beautiful ordre and holy dignite in the churche is confused, whan the highest in the churche do meddle with vile and erthly thynges, and in theyr stede vile and abiecte persons do exercise hygh and heuenly thinges.

Fourthly, the lay people haue great occasion of euils, and cause to fall, whan those men whose dutie is to drawe men from the affection of this worlde, by their continual conuersation in this worlde teche men to loue this worlde, and of the loue of the worlde cast them downe heedlyng in to hell.

More ouer in suche pristis that are so besyed there must nedes folowe hypocrisy. For whan they be so mixte and confused with the lay people, vnder the garment and habite of a priste they lyue playnly

after the lay facion. Also by spiritual wekenes and bondage feare, whan they are made weake with the waters of this worlde, they dare neyther do nor say but suche thynges as they knowe to be pleasant and thankfull to their pryncis.

At laste, ignorancy and blyndnes : whan they are blynded with the darknes of this worlde, they se nothyng but erthly thynges. Wherefore our sauour Christe, nat with out cause, dyd warne the prelates of his church : *Take hede, sayde he, lest your hartes be greued with glotony and dronkennes and with the cares of this worlde. With the cares, saythe he, of this worlde, wherwith the hartes of pristis beyng sore charged they canne nat holde and lyfte vp their myndes to high and heuently thynges.*

Many other euils ther be beside those, that folowe of the secularitie of pristis, whiche were longe here to reherce. But I make an ende.

These be the foure euyls that I haue spoken of, O Fathers, O pristis, by the whiche we are conformable to this worlde, by the whiche the face of the church is made euyll faoured, by the whiche the state of it is destroyed truly moche more than it was in the begynnyng by the persecution of tyrantes, or afterward by the inuasion that folowed of heretikes. For, in the persecution of tyrantes, the church beyng vexed was made stronger and bryghter. In the inuasion of heretykes, the church beyng shaken was made wyser and more cunnyng in holy writte. But sens this secularitie was broughte in, after that the secular maner of lyuyng crepte in in the men of the church, the roote of all spirituall lyfe—that is to say, charite—was extincte. The whiche taken awaye, there can nother wyse nor stronge church be in God.

In this tyme also we perceyue contradiction of the laye people. But they are nat so moche contrarye vnto vs, as we are our selfe ; nor theyr contrarines hurteth nat vs so moche as the contrarines of our euyll lyfe, the whiche is contrary both to God and Christe. For he sayd : *Who that is nat with me, is agaynst me.*

✓ We are also now a dayes greued of heretykes, men mad with marueylous folysshenes. But the heresies of them are nat so pestilent and pernicious vnto vs and the people, as the euyll and wicked lyfe of pristis ; the whiche, if we beleue saynt Barnard, is a certeyn kynde of heresye, and chiefe of all and most perillous. For that same holy father, in a certeyne conuocation, preachyng vnto the pristis of his tyme, in a certayne sermon so he sayde by these wordes : “ There be many catholyke and faithfull men in speakyng and preachyng, the whiche same men are heretykes in workyng. For that that heretikes

do by euyl teachynge, that same do they throughe euyl example : they leade the people oute of the ryght way, and brynge them in to errour of lyfe. And so moche they are worse than heretyckes, howe moche theyr workes preuaile their wordes." This that holye father saynt Barnarde, with a great and a feruent spirite, sayde agaynste the sect of euyl pristes in his time. By whiche wordes he shewethe playnly to be two maner of heresies ; the one to be of peruerse teachynge, and the tother of naughty life : of whiche this later is worse and more peryllous. The whiche raygneth nowe in the churche in pristes nat lyuynge pristly but secularly, to the vtter and miserable distruction of the churche.

Wherefore, you fathers, you prestes, and all you of the clergie, at the laste loke vp and awake from this your slepe in this forgetful worlde ; and at the laste beyng well awaked here Paule crienge vnto you : *Be you nat conformable vnto this worlde.*

And this for the first part. Nowe let vs come to the seconde.

The seconde parte, of Reformation.

But be you reformed in the newnes of your vnderstandynge.

The seconde thyng that saynt Paule commandeth, is that we be reformed in to a newe vnderstandynge ; that we smelle those thynges that be of God. Be we reformed vnto those thynges that are contrary to those I spake of euen nowe : that is to saye, to mekenes, to sobernes, to charite, to spirituall occupation ; that, as the sayd Paule writeth vnto Titus, *renyenge al wickednes and worldly desires, we lyue in this worlde soberly, truely, and vertuously.*

This reformation and restoring of the churches estate muste nedes begynne of you our fathers, and so folowe in vs your pristes and in all the clergie. You are our heedes, you are an example of liuing vnto vs. Unto you we loke as vnto markes of our direction. In you and in your lyfe we desyre to rede, as in lyuely bokes, howe and after what facion we may lyue. Wherefore, if you wyll ponder and loke vpon oure mottis, fyrste take away the blockes out of your eies. Hit is an olde prouerbe : *Phisition, heale thy selfe.* You spirituall phisitions, fyrste taste you this medicine of purgation of maners, and than after offre vs the same to taste.

The waye where by the churche may be reformed in to better facion is nat for to make newe lawis. For there be lawes many inowe and out of nombre, as Salomon saith : *nothyng is newe vnder the sonne.* For the

euils that are nowe in the churche were before in tyme paste ; and there is no faute but that fathers haue prouyded very good remedies for hit. There are no trespases, but that there be lawes against them in the body of the Canon lawe. Therefore hit is no nede that newe lawes and constitutions be made, but that those that are made all redye be kepte. Wherefore in this your assemble let those lawes that are made be called before you and rehersed : those lawes, I say, that restrayne vice, and those that further vertue.

Fyrste, let those lawes be rehersed, that do warne you fathers that ye put nat ouer soone your handes on euery man, or admitte vnto holy orders. For ther is the well of euils, that, the brode gate of holy orders opened, euery man that offereth hym selfe is all where admytted without pullynge backe. Therof spryngeth and cometh out the people that are in the churche both of vnlearned and euill prestes. Hit is nat inough for a priste, after my iugement, to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answer to a sopheme ; but moche more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approued maners, metely lernynge of holye scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes ; chiefly and aboue all thyng, the feare of God and loue of the heuenly lyfe.

Let the lawes be rehersed, that commaunde that benefices of the churche be gyuen to those that are worthy ; and that promotions be made in the churche by the ryghte balance of vertue, nat by carnall affection, nat by the acception of persones ; wherby hit happeneth nowe adayes that boyes for olde men, fooles for wise men, euill for good, do reigne and rule.

Let the lawes be rehersed, that warreth agaynst the spotte of Symonie. The whiche corruption, the whiche infection, the whiche cruell and odible pestilence, so crepeth nowe abroad, as the canker euill in the myndes of prestes, that many of them are nat aferde nowe a dayes both by prayer and seruice, rewardes and promesses, to gette them great dignities.

Lette the lawes be rehersed, that commaunde personall residence of curates in theyr churches. For of this many euils growe, by cause all thinges nowe a dayes are done by vicaries and parysshe prestes ; ye, and those foolyshe also and vnmete, and often tymes wicked ; that seke none other thyng in the people than foule lucre, wherof cometh occasion of euill heresies and yll christendome in the people.

Lette be rehersed the lawes and holy rules gyuen of fathers, of the lyfe and honestie of clerkes ; that forbydde that a clerke be no mar-

chant, that he be no vsurer, that he be no hunter, that he be no common player, that he beare no weapon; the lawes that forbyd clerkes to haunte tauernes, that forbydde them to haue suspecte familiaritie with women; the lawes that commaunde sobernes, and a measurablenes in aparayle, and temperance in adournyng of the body.

Let be rehersed also to my lordes these monkes, chanons, and religious men, the lawes that commaunde them to go the strait way that leadeth vnto heuen, leauyng the brode way of the worlde; that commandeth them nat to turmoile them selfe in busynes, nother secular nor other; that commaunde that they sewe nat in princis courtes for erthly thynges. For it is in the councell of Calcedinens that monkes ought onely to gyue them selfe to prayer and fastyng, and to the chastyng of their fleshe, and obseruyng of theyr rules.

Above all thynges, let the lawes be rehersed, that pertayne and concerne you my reuerent fathers and lordes bysshops, lawes of your iuste and canonical election, in the chaptres of your churches, with the callynge of the holy goste. For bycause that is nat done now a dayes, and bycause prelates are chosen often times more be fauour of men than by the grace of God; therefore truly haue we nat a fewe tymes bishops ful lytell spirituall men, rather worldly than heuenly, sauouryng more the spirite of this worlde than the spirite of Christe.

Let the lawes be rehersed of the residence of bysshops in theyr diocesis; that commaunde, that they loke diligently, and take hede to the helthe of soules; that they sowe the worde of God; that they shewe them selfe in their churches at the leest on greatte holye dayes; that they do sacrifice for their people; that they here the causes and matters of poure men; that they susteine fatherles children and widowes; that they exercise them selfe in workes of vertue.

Let the lawes be rehersed of the good bestowyng of the patrimony of Christe: the lawes that commande that the goodes of the church be spent, nat in costly byldyng, nat in sumptuous apparell and pompis, nat in feastyng and bankettyng, nat in excesse and wantonnes, nat in enrichinge of kynsfolke, nat in kepyng of dogges, but in thinges profitable and necessary to the church. For whan saynt Augustine, some tyme bysshoppe of Englande, dyd aske the pope Gregorie howe that the bysshops and prelates of Englande shulde spende theyr goodes, that were the offringes of faithfull people, the sayd pope answered (and his answer is put in the Decrees, in the xii. chap. and seconde question), that the goodes of byshops ought to be deuyded in to iiii. partes; wherof one parte oughte to be to the bysshoppe

and his householde, an other to his clerkes, the third to repayre and vp holde his tenementes, the fourth to the poure people.

Let the lawes be rehersed, ye, and that often tymes, that take away the filthes and vnclenlines of courtes; that take away those daylye newe founde craftes for lucre; that besy them to pulle away this foule couetousnes, the whiche is the spryng and cause of all euils, the whiche is the well of all iniquitie.

At the laste let be renewed those lawes and constitutions of fathers of the celebration of counceils, that commaunde prouinciall counceils to be oftener vsed for the reformation of the church. For there neuer hapneth nothyng more hurtefull to the church of Christe, than the lacke both of counceill generall and prouinciall.

Whan these lawes and suche other ar rehersed, that be for vs, and that concerne the correction of maners, there lacketh nothyng but that the same be put in execution with all auctoritie and power; that ones, seing we haue a lawe, we liue after the lawe. For the whiche thinges, with al due reuerence, I calle chiefly vpon you fathers. For this execution of the lawes and obseruyng of the constitutions muste nedes begynne of you, that ye may teache vs pristres to folowe you by lyuely examples; or elles trewely hit wyll be sayde of you: *They lay greuous burdens vpon other mens backs, and they them selfe wyll nat as moche as touche hit with theyr lytell finger.*

For sothe if you kepe the lawes, and if you reforme fyrste your lyfe to the rules of the Canon lawes, then shall ye gyue vs lyght, in the whiche we maye se what is to be done of our parte,-- that is to say, the lyghte of your good example. And we, seynge our fathers so keping the lawes, wyl gladly folowe the steppes of our fathers.

The clergies and spirituals part ones reformed in the church, than may we with a iuste order procede to the reformation of the lays part; the whiche truely wyll be verye easy to do, if we fyrst be reformed. For the bodye foloweth the soule; and, such rulers as are in the cite, like dwellers be in hit. Wherefore if pristres that haue the charge of soules be good, streyghte the people wyll be good. Our goodnes shall teche them more clerely to be good than al other teachynges and prechynges. Our goodnes shall compell them in to the right way truly more effectuously than all your suspendynges and cursynges.

Wherefore, if ye wyll haue the lay people to lyue after your wysse and wyll, fyrst lyue you your selfe after the wyl of God; and so, trust me, ye shall gette in them what so euer ye wyll.

Ye wyll be obeyed of them: and right it is. For in the epistell to the Hebrewes these are the wordes of saynt Paule to the laye people:

*Obe*y, saith he, *to your rulers, and be you vnder them.* But if ye wyl haue this obedience, first performe in you the reason and cause of obedience; the whiche the sayd Paule dothe teache, and hit foloweth in the texte: that is, *Take you hede also diligently, as though ye shuld gyue a recknynge for their soules:* and they wyl obey you.

You wyl be honored of the people. It is reason. For saynt Paule wryteth vnto Timothe: *Pristes that rule well are worthy double honours, chiefly those that labour in worde and teachyng.* Therefore, if ye desyre to be honoured, fyrste loke that ye rule well, and that ye laboure in worde and teachyng; and than shal the people haue you in all honour.

You wyl repe theyr carnall thinges, and gether tithes and offrynges without any stryuyng. Right it is. For saynt Paule, writing vnto the Romanes, sayth: *They are dettours, and ought to minstre vnto you in carnall thinges.* Fyrst sowe you your spirituall thynges, and than ye shall repe plentifully theyr carnall thynges. For truely that man is very harde and vniust, that wyl *repe where he neuer dyd sowe,* and that wyl *gether where he neuer skatered.*

Ye wyl haue the churches liberte, and nat to be drawn afore secular iuges: and that also is ryght. For hit is in the psalmes: *Touche ye nat myne anynted.* But if ye desire this liberte, first vn-louse your selfe frome the worldlye bondage, and from the seruices of men; and lyfte vp your selfe in to the trewe lybertie, the spirituall lybertie of Christe, in to grace frome synnes; and serue you God, and raygne in hym. And than, beleue me, the people wyl nat touche the anynted of theyr Lorde God.

Ye wolde be out of busines in rest and peace: and that is conuenient. But if ye wyl haue peace, come agayne to the God of peace and loue. Come againe to Christe, in whom is the very true peace of the Goste, the whiche passeth all wytte. Come agayne to your selfe, and to your pristly lyuyng. And, to make an ende, as saynt Paule saythe: *Be you reformed in the newenes of your vnderstandyng, that you sauoure those thynges that are of God; and the peace of God shall be with you.*

These are they, reuerent fathers and ryghte famous men, that I thought to be said for the reformation of the churches estate. I trust ye wyl take them of your gentylnes to the best. And if parauenture it be thought that I haue past my boundes in this sermon, or haue sayd any thyng out of tēpre, forgyue hit me; and ye shall forgyue a man speakyng of very zeale, [to] a man sorowyng the decaye of

the church. And consyder the thyng hit selfe, nat regardynge any¹ foolysshenes. Consyder the miserable fourme and state of the church, and endeouour your selves with all your myndes to reform it. Suffre nat, fathers, this your so greatte a getherynge to departe in vayne. Suffre nat this your congregation to slyppe for naughte. Truly ye are gethered often tymes to gether; but, by your fauour to speke the trouthe, yet I se nat what frute cometh of your assemblyng, namely to the church.

Go ye nowe in the spirite that ye haue called on, that, by the helpe of hit, ye may in this your councell fynde out, decerne, and ordeyne those thynges that may be profitable to the church, prayse vnto you, and honour vnto God. *Unto whom be all honoure and glorie for euer more. Amen.*

¹ A misprint for "my," as shown by comparison with the Latin.

APPENDIX D.

¶ *A ryght fruitfull monicion¹
concernynge the order of a good
christen mannes lyfe, very pro-
fitable for all maner of esta-
tes, and other, to be-
holde and loke
vppon:*

*Made by the famousse
doctour Colet, som-
tyme Deane of
Paules*

¶ *Cum priuilegio Regali.*

Johan Byddell

REMEMBRE fyrst of all, vertuous reder, that it is hygh wysedome and great perfection to knowe thy selfe, and than to dispise thy selfe; as, to know thou haste nothing that is good of thy selfe, but all together of God. For the gyftes of nature, and all other temporall

¹ Printed from a copy of the rare edition of 1534, in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. For permission to transcribe it (March 24th, 1877) I am indebted to the Rev. John Spicer Wood, D.D., then President and Librarian. It is bound up with Bishop Fisher's "Commentary on the Penitential Psalms," 1555, in a little volume marked "v. 18. 30," the gift of Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely, in 1684. The title is within a border of allegorical figures, labelled "Fides, Spes," &c. The treatise itself only fills seven leaves, size 5 inches by 3¾. The colophon is: "Imprinted at London in Flete strete by John Byddell other wyse called Salysbury at the sign of our lady of pyte nexte Flete brydge, the yere of our lorde. M.D.xxxiiii. the xxvii. day of Marche." The edition of 1577, printed for Gabriell Cawood, is substantially the same as this, only varied and modernized a little in phrase.

gyftes of this worlde, whiche ben laufully and truely opteyned, well conſydered, ben comen to the by the infinite goodnes and grace of God, and not of thy ſelfe. And moſt in eſpeciall it is neceſſarye for the to knowe howe that God of his greatte grace hath made the lyke to his owne ſimilitude or ymage, hauynge regarde to thy memory, vnderſtandyng, and fre wyll; and to knowe howe God is thy maker, and thou his wretched creature; and to know how thou art redemed of God by the paſſyon of Chriſt Jeſu; and to know how God is thy helper, thy refuge, and thy deliuerer from all yuell; and to conſyder and to knowe the goodly order whiche God of his infynyte wyſdome hath ordeyned the to be ordred by,—as, to haue theſe temporall goodes for the neceſſytie of the bodye, the body and ſenſuall appetytes to be ordred by thy ſoule, thy ſoule to be ordred by reaſon and grace, by reaſon and grace to know thy duetie to God and to thy neighbour.

And by all comune reaſon, yf thou kepe this conuenient order to God and his creatures, they ſhall kepe theyr order to the; but yf thou breke thyne order to them, of lykelyhood they ſhall breke their order to the. For how ſhulde thy wyfe, chyldren, ſeruantes, and other creatures, with whom thou haſte doyngeſ, do theyr dueties, and kepe theyr order to the, yf thou doeſt not ſo to God and to them? And alſo thynke thou of a ſuretie, that yf thy ſenſuall appetite be not ordred by reaſon and grace, thou arte worſe ordred than a beaſt. For than thou lyueſt out of order, and ſo doeth not a beaſt; whiche is a great ſhame and rebuke to the a reaſonable creature, and without the great mercy of God it ſhal be to thyne eternall dampnacjon.

And therfore thynke and thanke God, and vtterly diſpiſe thy ſelfe, and thynke thy ſelfe a great wretche in that, that God hath done ſo moche for the, and thou haſte ſo ofte offended his highnes, and alſo done hym ſo lytle ſeruyce. Surely it is alſo great wiſdom to thynke, that if it had pleaſed God for to haue gyuen to all other men, as well beggers as other, lyke grace as he hath gyuen to the, that they wolde haue ſerued his goodnes better than thy ſelfe haſt don. Wherefore, thynke thy ſelfe a wretche of all wretches, without the mercye of God. And therfore by his infinite mercy and grace call vnto thy remembrance the degree or dignytie, the whiche Almyghty God of his goodnes hath called the vnto, and accordynge therunto yelde thy det and do thy duetie.

¶ Fyrſte and principally, honour God as thy maker, loue hym as thy redemer, feare hym as thy iudge.

Secondryly, thy neighbour whiche is thy ſuperior, obey. Haue

concorde and peace with them whiche ben euen with the in degree, and haue mercy and pitie on thyne inferiors.

Thirdly, prouide the to haue a clene hert, and a good custody of thy tonge. Pray and take labour by grace to haue wisdome and cunnyng to do thy duetie to God and to thy neyghbour. And in all thy wordes and dedes, haue euer in mynde that God and his aungels hereth and seeth euery thyng, and that nothyng is so priuely doon but it shall be made open. And in especyall haue in mynde, that thou shalte dye shortly, and how Christ dyed for the; the subtyltie and falsnes of this temporall world, the ioyes of heven, and the paynes of hell. And euery mornynge amonge other thy meditations and prayers, pray vnto thy Lorde God, that, the day folowyng, thou (accordynge to the degree, the whiche of his infynyte goodnes and mercy hath called the vnto), mayste vse this temporall wretched worlde in thy thoughtes, wordes, and dedes, that by them, and the meryte of Christis passion, thou mayst eschewe the paynes of hell, and come to the ioye euerlastynge.

And in executyng therof, kepe trouthe in wordes and dedes. Defende no man nor no matter agaynst the trouthe. In all thynges thinke and trust in God, and he shall dyrecte thy wayes. Trust not to thyne owne wytte, but feare God, and he wyll kepe the from yuell. If thou truste more in thyne owne wytte than in the grace of God, thy polycye shall be soone subuerted. Be contente to here good counsaile, though it be contrarye to thy wyll; for he is a very foole, that wyll here nothyng gladly but that is accordynge to his mynde.

Do thou no man harme, lest thou suffrest the same. As thou willest be done vnto thee, so do thou vnto an other. Be suche to other, as thou desyreste they shulde be to the.

If thou be religious, remembre that the due execution of true religion is not in wearyng of the habyte, but with a clene mynde in very dede to execute the rules and ordinaunces of religion. For so it is, that to weare the habite, and not to execute the rule and order of religion, is rather to be demed ypocrysy or apostasy than other wyse.

If thou be laye and vnmaryed, kepe the clene vnto the tyme thou be married. And remembre the sore and terrible punysshment of Noes flood, and of the terryble fyre and brymstone, and sore punysshment of Sodom and Gomor, don to man for misusyng of the flesshe. And in especyall, call to remembraunce the meruailous and horryble punysshment of the abhominable great pockes, dayly apperynge to our sightes, growynge in and vpon mannes flesshe; the whiche soore

punysshement, euery thyng well remembred, can not be thought but principally for the inordinate misuse of the fleshe.

And if thou intende to marye, or beyng¹ maryed and haste a good wyfe, thanke our Lorde therfore, for she is of his sendyng. And remembre that thre thynges in especyall ben pleasaunt to the spyrite of God ; that is to say, concorde betwene bretheren, loue and charitie betwene neighbours, and a man and his wyfe well agreynge.² And yf thou haue an euyll wyfe, take pacience, and thanke God ; for all is for the best, well taken. Howbeit, thou art bounden to do and pray for her amendement, leest she go to the deuyll, from whom she came. And haue in remembraunce that the intent of maryage is not in the beestly appetyte or pleasure in the thyng ; but the intent therof is to eschew the synne of the flesshe, or els to haue chyl dren.

And yf thou haue chyl dren, as moche as thou mayst bryng them forthe in vertue to be the seruauntes of God. For it is better for the and them not to be borne, than³ otherwise.

In thyne auctoritie, busy the rather to be beloued of thyne inferiors than to be dred. Let thy subiectes and seruantes rather serue and obey the for loue, than for drede or nede. With suche a souereigne goodnes gouerne thy subiectes, that they may be glad to serue the, bothe in punysshynge and also in cherysshynge.

Kepe a manerly meane, and be not to strait. Forgyue not to soone. Kepe a conuenient measure in all thy workes.

Go not to meat as a beest ; but, as a reasonable man, say thy grace. And than remembre that mo ben sicke and dye by superfluities of meates than other wyse. Wherefore eate with measure, to lyue in helthe. At thy mele, haue none other but honest communication, and suche as is accordyng to thy connyng.

Backebyte no man. Be mery in honeste ; for sorowe and care hath kyllled many, and no profite therein.⁴ In no wyse sweare, without compulsyon of the lawe. For where as is great sweryng, from thens is neuer the plage of God.

In no wyse braule ne chyde without an vrgent cause. For Solomon sayth, *better is a lytell with ioye, than a hous full of vitayle with brawlyng.*⁵ Also he sayth, *an yuell persone is euer chydynge, and therefore the angell of God shall be sent agaynst hym.*⁶

Be content at thy dyner, and also at other tymes, to gyue parte of

¹ "be," 1577.

³ "than to be," 1577.

⁵ Prov. xvii. 1.

² Eccclus. xxv. 1.

⁴ Eccclus. xxx. 23.

⁶ Prov. xvii. 11.

that which God hath sent the; for he that wyll not here the crye of a poore man, he shall crye to God and not be harde.

After thy meate, thanke God of that he hath sente the; or els thou doste not as a reasonable man, but lyke a beest, which in eatyng remembreth nothyng but his meate.

With good prouidence and discrecion, se the tyme where, whan, howe, why, or wherfore thou spekest, doest, or bydest any thyng to be done.

Whan thou iudge¹ any, be he poore or ryche, beholde and consider the cause and not the persone. Be as meke in other mennes causes and offences, as in thyn owne. Syt neuer in dome and iugement without pitie or mercy; for whyle thou hast pitie, and arte mercyfull to other mens offences, thou hast mercy on thy selfe. *For in what measure thou measurest it shall be measured to the.*² Yet thou must execute iudgement, but it muste be with pitie or mercy. For, of a surety, to do mercy and iustice is more pleasaunt to God, than to praye or do sacrifice vnto hym. Deine no man by light suspensions. Fyrste proue, and than deme. In doubttes, reserue the sentence to Goddes myghte. That thou knowest not, commyt it vnto God.

Haue lyttell or none affection and³ loue to these erthely and temporall thynges. For blessed be the ryche manne, that trusteth not in his money and treasure. And remembre, as a man loueth, so he is: for the louer is in the thyng loued more properly than in hym selfe. Wherfore, yf a man loue erthely thynges, he may be called an erthely man. And if he loue principally heuenly thynges or God, he may be called an heuenly or a godly man. And therfore loue God and heuenly thynges; for vndoubted that is best and moost assured loue. For they be, and euer shall, permanent; and all erthely thynges ben soone vanysshed and ended, and so the loue of them is in vayne.

Also it is wysdom to feare God, for as he sayeth hym selfe: *Feare not hym that may kyll the body, and can not hurt the soule; but feare hym that can kyll the bodye and also the soule,*⁴ and commyt them to euerlastyng payne. Wherfore euery euenyng, ere thou goo to bed,

¹ "demest or judgest," 1577.

² Matth. vii. 1.

³ After this comes a word, broken or defaced in the printing, which I cannot decipher. It looks something like "perlire" or "peslive." As it is omitted altogether in the edition of 1577, we may conclude that it could not then be made out.

⁴ Matth. x. 28.

call to remembraunce, as moche as thou canst, thy thoughtes, wordes, and dedes, sayd and done that day; and if any haue ben to thyne owne profyte, and to the pleasure of God, hertely thanke hym; for by his grace it was done. And yf any haue ben contrary to his pleasure, aske hertely mercy, and reconcile thy selfe shortly by repentaunce to eschewe the euerlastyng and terrible paynes of hell. For, as saynt Augustyn sayth,¹ there is not a greater madnes, than for a lytle temporall delectacion, whiche is soone done, to lese the eternall ioye, and to be bounde to euerlastyng payne. From the whiche the Almyghty Father of heuen, by his infynyt power and mercy, and bytter passion, and infynyte wysdome of Jesu Christe, and by the infinite goodnes and charitie of the Holy Gooste, kepe vs. Amen.

Deo Gratias.

¶ Use well temporall thynges.

¶ Desyre eternall thynges.

¶ Finis.

¹ As the sentiment is a general one, I am not sure of the exact passage to which Colet refers. The following, from the "De catechizandis rudibus" (§ 45) is akin to it: "Sed sicut nullum gaudium rerum temporalium ex aliqua parte simile potest inveniri gaudio vitæ æternæ, quam sancti accepturi sunt; ita nullus cruciatus pœnarum temporalium potest sempiternis iniquorum cruciatibus comparari." But the same thought pervades the two entire sermons CCCXLIV. ("De amore Dei et amore sæculi") and CCCXLV. ("De contemptu mundi"), as well as the concluding paragraph of CLVII. (on Rom. viii. 24, 25).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. *On the Pedigree of the Colets of Wendover.*

(Page 3, n.)

AMONG the Additional MSS. in the British Museum is one (No. 27984) which formerly belonged to Henry St. George. It is a small quarto volume of ninety-four leaves, filled with genealogical memoranda. On leaf 12 (= 19) is a pedigree of the Colletts of Wendover, with this note attached: "The man that brought me this pedygre toulde me that this descent hath bene proued by very old mens oathes in the guyld Hall in London and remaineth their vpon record, but I did not see any prooffe for it, and therfore did not sett my hand vnto it."

Henry St. George was Richmond Herald, and was engaged (as Mr. John Watney informs me) about the beginning of the seventeenth century in compiling a book of arms of distinguished members of the Mercers Company. This might help to account for the Colet pedigree being brought to him. Though he cautiously avoided accepting it as proved, there is nothing, so far as I can see, to discredit it. If it be compared with the more fragmentary stem given by Dr. Knight (Intro., p. xx.) on the authority of old family papers, it will be found to fit in not unsatisfactorily. It is here reproduced, with some additions. That the reader may not be misled, I have printed the pedigree as it stands in H. St. George's MS. in common type, with spelling of names unaltered. The links supplied from Knight and other sources are in italics. It will be observed that in the former a blank is left for the name of Robert Collett's *third* son. The first, second, and fourth are both named and numbered, while Sir Henry Colet is named, but not numbered. The presumption that John was the third, and Sir Henry the fifth, is strengthened by the respective dates of their deaths. If this be so, I have been in error (p. 3) in describing Henry Colet as the third son. This I did in reliance on Dr. Knight's apparent quotation from the monument

at Stepney ("Life," p. 6). "His monument, still remaining," says Dr. Knight, "shews this sir Hen. Colet, knt. to have been *third son* of Robert Colet, esq., &c." But I cannot find that the monument ever bore an inscription to that effect. The best authenticated copy of it I can discover is that in a MS. volume of Suffolk Pedigrees, of the seventeenth century (Brit. Mus. Additional MSS., No. 5524), on leaf 79 of which it is given thus:—"Here lieth Sir henry Collet knight twice maior of the Cittie of London and free of the Mercers, The father of John Collet deane of Paules the onely founder of Paule schole, w^{ch} henry had Eleauen sonnes and Eleauen Daughters." In Lipscomb's "Buckinghamshire" (1847), ii., p. 481, there is a singularly inaccurate account of the family, which is corrected in part by Sheahan, "History and Topography of Buckinghamshire" (1862), p. 208.

2. *On Colet's retirement at Shene.*

(Page 219, n.)

The relation in which Colet would stand to the regular inmates of the Charterhouse, on his taking up his residence with them, is illustrated by the following passage from Cavendish's "Life of Wolsey" (Singer's edition, i., p. 237). The time referred to is the spring of 1530, just before Wolsey's last journey northwards:—

"My lord then in the beginning of Lent removed out of the Lodge into the Charterhouse of Richmond, where he lay in a lodging which Dr. Colet, sometime Dean of Paul's, had made for himself, until he removed northward, which was in the Passion Week after; and he had to the same house a secret gallery, which went out of his chamber into the Charterhouse Church, whither he resorted every day to their service; and at afternoons he would sit in contemplation with one or other of the most ancient fathers of that house in his cell; who among them by their counsel persuaded him from the vain glory of this world, and gave him divers shirts of hair, the which he often wore afterward, whereof I am certain. And thus he continued for the time of his abode there in godly contemplation."

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